

MODERN STATE

OF,

SPAIN:

EXHIBITING

A complete View of its Topography, Government, Laws, Religion, Finances, Naval and Military Establishments; and of Society, Manners, Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, and Commerce in that Country.

BY J. R. BOURGOING,

LATE MINISTER RESIDENT IN ITALY FROM FRANCE TO THE
COURT OF MADRID

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST FRENCH EDITION OF

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

*Essays on Spain by M. Peyron; and the Book
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MODERN STATE OF SPAIN.

CHAP. I.

View of Toledo. The Alcazar. Muzarabic Missal. The Archbishop and his clergy. Instance of their toleration. Ecclesiastical jurisprudence relative to marriage. Cathedral and public buildings of Toledo. Casa del Campo, Villaviciosa, San Fernando, Loeches, Toros de Guisando, Battuecas, Avila, Alcala.

As the attention of the reader will now be drawn towards the south of Spain, with his permission I shall previously introduce him to some of the most remarkable places in the vicinity of the capital, which, from motives of curiosity, I had myself been induced to visit.

I shall begin with Toledo, a city of some celebrity, once the residence of the Moorish kings, and now the seat of the Primate of all Spain. It is situated upon the right bank of the Tago, twelve leagues from Madrid, and seven from Aranjuez. On going from Madrid, the principal places we meet with are Getafe

and Illescas, two large towns, the environs of which are praised for the excellence of their cultivation, and the extreme fertility of the soil. Here, and indeed generally throughout the kingdom of Castile, few or no trees are however to be seen.

The road to Toledo by Aranjuez lies through a much more picturesque country. Beyond this royal residence, the valley in which it is situated becomes broader. The course of the Tagus, which by turns approaches and recedes from us, presents some striking points of view. But in this district its banks are high, and covered with rocks; and the stream, which flows so smoothly when approaching Toledo and under its mouldering walls, here rolls with the blustering rapidity of a torrent.

To enter the city of Toledo, the traveller must cross the Tagus by a bridge of an almost terrific height.

Deserted, narrow, and winding streets, destitute alike of affluence or industry, but ill agree with the idea we should form of this city, which has been honoured with the title of *imperial* since the period when Alphonse I. retook it from the Moors; a city which disputes pre-eminence with Burgos in the *core* of the kingdom of Castile; which has long been considered as the capital, and which contains a variety of monuments to attest its ancient

splendour. Madrid, which has of late years increased its population at the expense of the neighbouring cities, contributed largely to the depopulation of Toledo. The appearance of its ruinous buildings gives it an air of misery, which is, nevertheless, relieved in some measure by the interior of the houses: where every thing is neat and proper, qualities but rarely allied to poverty. The inhabitants of Toledo spare no pains in particular to defend the entrances of their houses from the rays of the sun, and to obtain the coolness of the shade even in the heat of the dog-days. If we enter their apartments in the hottest season, we think ourselves transported to the palace of sleep. With them the sun appears to be set at three o'clock; the window-blinds are hermetically closed; the floors are moistened with frequent sprinklings of water; large sheets of canvass are extended above their courts; every thing in short conspires to produce an illusion, both as to the heat of the climate and the hour of the day.

These precautions are indeed common to almost all the cities in Spain at that season of the year; but nowhere did they appear to me so remarkable as at Toledo. Indeed the industry of its inhabitants was nearly confined to the invention of these requisites of effeminacy. Within these few years, however, they have

been awakened from that perpetual listlessness to which they seemed condemned. Cardinal Lorenzana, who was their archbishop for upwards of twenty years, roused them to a sense of their duty, which produced the most beneficial effects. The Alcazar of Toledo, the ancient residence of the Gothic kings, had been nearly rebuilt under Charles the fifth; but by the damage it sustained in the conflagration at the commencement of last century, it was in a ruinous condition. The archbishop raised it from its ashes. He established silk looms which occupy more than 700 people, and built an hospital for indigent women and old men. He collected two hundred children of the inhabitants, whom he caused to be educated, and for whom he set up a drawing-school. His charity was particularly conspicuous in favour of the unfortunate French clergy who were compelled to seek an asylum in his diocese. Not one of these unfortunate exiles ever implored his assistance in vain!

To such uses as these did this worthy prelate apply his superfluities; and as his truly apostolic simplicity had considerably circumscribed his wants, this superfluity was immense. Notwithstanding his punctuality in the fulfilment of his spiritual functions, he still found leisure for literary pursuits. Before he succeeded to the see of Toledo, he had filled that of Mexico.

He had discovered there a new collection of the letters of Fernand-Cortez, which, with some observations of his own, he published on his return to Europe. He also gave to the world some learned works, and among others, a new edition of the Muzarabic Missal. It is well known that this is a collection of the offices of the church, as they were celebrated according to the ancient Muzarabic ritual adhered to by the Christians in such countries as were occupied by the Moors. Having fallen into disuse, it was revived by Cardinal Ximenes, who founded a chapel at Toledo, where divine service is still celebrated conformably to this ritual; it is also used in one of the churches of Salamanca.

Madrid and Aranjuez, being situated in the diocese of Toledo,* the cardinal archbishop of this city appeared frequently at court, even before his presence in the capital became necessary by his appointment to the office of grand inquisitor.† Madrid is however, as formerly, the residence of his grand vicar, who, in his absence, performs the duty of the

* Madrid has no bishop; although this has been asserted by the anonymous author of the *Nouveaux Voyages en Espagne*, which appeared in 1805. This is one of the little inadvertencies which has escaped this writer, who ought not to have been so severe in noticing those of others.

† This place, a few years ago, was conferred on the Archbishop of Saragossa, Don Joseph de Arce.

episcopal functions there. In the latter part of my first residence in Spain, I had some intercourse with this worthy representative of the Prelate Lorenzana, and I hope I shall be forgiven for noticing the result, because it will tend to prove that fanaticism and intolerance are not so incurable in Spain as has been generally believed; and that, in modern times, there are even among the clergy of this kingdom individuals who are accessible to reason, and who can feel for the weaknesses of humanity.

An agent for a foreign power, attached by the laws of his country to the protestant religion, was captivated with the charms of an amiable Castilian beauty. An obstacle, which could not easily be surmounted, stood in the way of their union in the invincible repugnance of the family, which was catholic, to a heretic son-in-law. The father himself came to Madrid to rescue his daughter from the dangers to which he thought her exposed, and dragged her in tears thirty leagues from Madrid. The lover followed him, threw himself at his feet, and in vain implored him to relent; he remained unshaken in his resolutions. I cannot, said the father, unite my daughter to a family which is the enemy of God, and of my religion; turn from the errors of yours, and you shall be my son-in-law. The young heretic asked permission to plead his cause at least before the

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tribunal of the church, which he hoped to find less inexorable than the young lady's father. The austere Castilian applauded the expedient, satisfied in his own mind that it could not ultimately succeed.

The stranger, animated by a ray of hope, returned to Madrid. He waited upon the grand vicar of the Archbishop of Toledo, and thus addressed him :

‘ You see before you an unfortunate man, whom it is in your power alone to restore to happiness. My heart is betrothed to Doña N——, I aspire to the honour of her hand ; but a barrier, which they tell me is insurmountable, prevents me from obtaining it ; I am out of the pale of the church of Rome. In vain would you exhort me to retract what you call my errors. Would you believe in a conversion so sudden ? Would the religion you worship be honoured by such an homage ? Leave it to time ; leave to the irresistible ascendancy of Doña N—— the care of leading me to that which you believe, and which perhaps I shall also one day believe to be the road to salvation. Besides, the honourable employment which I fill is my only means of subsistence. It will be incompatible with my change of religion. If I do not obtain the hand of Doña N—— I shall die with despair ; if I cannot obtain her but by renouncing my religion, and

consequently my employment, both she and I must die in misery. You alone, the holy minister of a God of peace and of good-will! you alone can reconcile every thing; and since it is in your power, I know you will do it.'

These arguments softened the austerity of the grand vicar. 'I must be convinced,' said he, 'in the first place, that you are free. How can you furnish me with a proof of this? I could wish, in the next place, to have proof that, in your country, the protestant religion is so exclusive, that no person, who does not profess it, can hold any public situation. Lastly, I desire that it may be certified to me, that you are not strongly prejudiced against the catholic church; that you demand time only, in order that the influence of your future consort, and the instructions of the ministers of our religion, may bring about your conversion.'

At these words, the young stranger fancied himself secure of success. 'It will not be difficult,' replied he, 'to give you these three assurances, if you will but point out the mode of communication which will be satisfactory to you.' 'Let it be two public men,' said the vicar, 'who possess your confidence, and who are worthy of mine.' He named the ambassadors of France and of the United States. They were agreed to. We were invited to visit the grand vicar, who received us one by

ope. He proposed the three questions to us; to each of which we answered in the affirmative. We signed this as a sort of public document, and the scruples of the grand vicar were removed, as were those of the archbishop and of the orthodox family. The two lovers were united at the catholic altar, without either being obliged to abjure their creed. They were faithful to their vows, as well as to the religion of their fathers; and their time was more occupied in mutual endearments, than in useless attempts at each others conversion. If ever these lines fall under the perusal of any of the personages in this short history; at the recital of the alarms, the dangers, and the success obtained by love over intolerance through the medium of friendship, perhaps a tear may glisten in the eye of a lover, a father, or a friend!

Such has been the conduct of the Archbishop of Toledo and of his clergy for these twenty years. They exhibited on this occasion the first instance of toleration, as connected with matrimony, which had ever been given in Spain; and soon afterwards, another couple, precisely in the same situation, urged the same precedent, and had their plea allowed.

In other cases which occur more frequent than those we have mentioned, the interference of the grand vicar is implored in a

way not very edifying to morality. I mean the formality known in the country by the words *sacar por el vicario*; literally, *to be married by the vicar*. Every girl, who has obtained the age of twelve, may compel a young man to marry her, provided he has reached his fourteenth year, if she can prove that he has anticipated the privileges of a husband with her, that he has promised her his hand, or even given her to understand in any way that he wished her to become his wife. These proofs are adduced before the ecclesiastical vicar. If the woman affirm that the young man has had connexion with her, and the latter admits the fact, he cannot refuse to marry her. If he denies the charge, the woman is bound to substantiate it by proof; and for this purpose it is enough that some neighbours attest that they have seen them together at unseasonable hours. A ring, a trinket, a present, but above all a love letter, in which the word marriage is not even mentioned, is considered as sufficient proof to enable a girl to make good her claim to the husband.

It is difficult to say in what spirit such laws were enacted. Was it meant that one sex should be put on its guard against the seduction of the other even at the tenderest age? Or do these legislators wish it to be understood, that encouragement must be given to marriage,

at the risk of forming many an unhappy
union?

Be this as it may, no sooner does the complainant apply to the vicar, than he orders the defendant immediately into prison, where he remains till the cause is decided. If the vicar pronounces *that the marriage ought to take place*, the prisoner does not obtain his liberty until after its celebration. The desire of recovering his liberty for the moment, frequently determines him to sacrifice it for life; but it may easily be imagined that a yoke thus imposed does not long sit easy upon him who has been constrained to submit to it.

There is another way of employing the good offices of the ecclesiastical vicar, not less revolting, perhaps, to decency; though more favourable to love. Suppose a man to be in love with a girl who is under the protection of her father and she repay his affection; if they cannot obtain the consent of her relations, the lover goes to the vicar, reveals their mutual attachment, and points out the house into which he wishes his mistress to be received until the celebration of the marriage. The vicar, after having ascertained that the consent is mutual, sends a commissary to bring the young lady from her father's house, and he conducts her to the appointed place; she remains there until the cause is ended, when the lover conducts

her to hear the nuptial benediction pronounced.

Such, in general, is the nature of the ecclesiastical jurisprudence relating to marriage, throughout the whole of the Spanish monarchy; but in its application to practice, the more or less rigorous execution of the laws depends much upon the prudence and opinions of the minister of the church; latterly, laws have been made there which, in restoring to paternal authority a part of its influence over the settlement of children, have had in view the prevention of the odium generally attendant upon marriages contracted without this justly respectable control.

But to return to Toledo, from which these digressions have perhaps detained us too long. Its cathedral is one of the most precious sacred monuments in Europe. Consecrated during nearly four centuries to the Mahometan worship, even when ultimately recovered by Alphonso VI. it retained the form of the mosque until the time of St. Ferdinand, who gave it its present form. All the magnificence of the Gothic edifices is here displayed; and, under the following reigns, it was enriched by decorations of every description. Several of its chapels are remarkable for their tombs. In the choir are to be seen those of four kings of Castile, vulgarly called *Reyes viejos*, 'the old kings,'

and the tomb of Cardinal Mendoza, one of the most illustrious prelates who ever filled the see of Toledo.

In the chapel of the Virgin, Cardinal Portocarrero is interred, whose tomb bears an epitaph which, for its simplicity, is peculiarly striking :

Hic jacet pulvis, cinis et nihil

In the chapel of St. James, we are irresistibly attracted to the tomb of Don Alvarez de Luna, the celebrated and unfortunate favourite of John II. who perished on the scaffold, abandoned by his patron, whose short-sighted weakness had raised him to the summit of prosperity. If but a trifling attention be paid to the pompous inscriptions with which this magnificent tomb, and that of his lady, are loaded, the mind naturally indulges itself in suitable reflexions upon the instability of the favour of princes.

The same chapel also contains several other tombs worthy of attention ; but we shall only notice those of ten kings or queens of Castile, placed in the chapel called *de los Reyes Nuevos*, ' of the new kings,' the most magnificently decorated of the whole.

In the hall belonging to the chapter, are portraits of all the archbishops of Toledo, among which that of Cardinal Ximenes, has the merit of being a striking likeness. These portraits

are really valuable in other respects, because several of them are of a date coeval with the revival of painting in Spain, and by comparing them, the progress of this art may be traced in that kingdom.

Besides these, there are in the cathedral a great number of valuable pictures. The sacristy, among several others, contains one of *Carlo Maratti*, and another of *Dominic the Greek*, and the roof is painted in fresco by *Luke Jordan*.

The cloister of the cathedral contains a picture by an artist, *Blas de Prado*, who deserves more celebrity than he has yet enjoyed. The most superficial connoisseurs are struck with the correctness of his design, the excellence of his colouring, and particularly from the sweet expression communicated to his figures.

This cloister is of vast extent and excellent proportions. Bayeux and Maella, the two best painters in modern Spain, have traced upon its walls the principal events in the lives of Saint Eugene and Saint Leocadia, patrons of the cathedral, and of some other saints famous at Toledo, by their zeal for the Christian religion.

We might enumerate at great length all the ornaments and vessels consecrated to divine service in this cathedral. It will be sufficient perhaps to observe, that the see of Toledo is one of the richest in Christendom; that it has

Often been filled by pious prelates, who would have reproached themselves had they made a profane use of their opulence, and that it has always continued to experience the royal munificence. Behind the choir of the cathedral is a wretched piece of sculpture, called the *transparente*, by the exhibition of which they attempt to excite the admiration of the curious: it is a modern work, which disfigures instead of embellishing the church. We are here at liberty to adore, if so inclined, a stone whereon is said to be preserved the impression of the feet of the Virgin, since the day when she descended from heaven for the express purpose of passing in *propria persona* the first chasuble to St. Ildefonso; a miracle which a modern sculptor has consecrated in one of the chapels of this cathedral. The miraculous stone is exposed to the admiration and devotion of the faithful behind an iron grating, which repels all profanation, without intercepting the homage of the devotee.

Besides its cathedral, Toledo has also twenty-five parish churches and many convents and pious foundations. Several of the latter deserve the attention of travellers. Of this description, in particular, is the hospital of St. John the Baptist, which from the beauty and judiciousness of its proportions, is a proof of the good taste of its founder, Cardinal Pavera,

whose ashes are inclosed in a magnificent tomb. It is the last work of Alphonso Berruguete, an eminent sculptor, who was educated in the school of Michael Angelo.

Toledo is also indebted to one of its prelates, Cardinal Mendoza, for a very fine hospital for foundlings, in the church belonging to which are six large pictures after the manner of Rubens.

Another asylum devoted to suffering humanity, is the lunatic hospital. There are two principal establishments of this description in Spain, one at Saragossa, the other at Toledo. I was surprised and instructed on observing the neatness and regularity which reign throughout the apartments. Recollecting many other similar establishments, I have often wondered how that superstition and Christian charity, which in our days has been thought to be treated with indulgence only if suffered to exist unattacked by ridicule; how that superstition, I say, can render men so different from what they really are, and snatch them from the failings most familiar to them. On contemplating the pious and charitable foundations of the Spaniards, we forget the apathy, the indolence, and the want of neatness, with which we have been accustomed to reproach them. Had religion conferred no other benefits upon mankind than disposing their minds to assist

the miserable, its divine origin would have been proved; superstition and other evils arising from the abuse of it, must on this account be pardoned and forgotten.

At Toledo the traveller may also admire the remains of an ingenious machine, formerly invented by the Italian *Juanelo*, to raise the waters of the Tagus into the city. Near these ruins are some others still more ancient, which must have formed part of an aqueduct destined to convey water to the height of the Alcazar, from springs which are seven or eight leagues from Toledo; a legacy at once useful and magnificent, by which the Romans have marked their residence in more than one place in Spain. We also recognise, in the environs of the city, the traces of one of their ancient roads, and the remains of a circus.

Thus, in their turns, have the Romans, the Arabs, the Goths, and the Spaniards under Charles the fifth, contributed to the embellishment of Toledo. We cannot say so much for the modern Spaniards. Houses unoccupied, magnificent buildings falling into decay, few or no manufactures, a population reduced from 200,000 souls to 25,000, the environs naked and barren; such is the melancholy picture presented to the eye of the traveller, whom the reputation of Toledo has attracted within its walls. Under the last reign, besides

the steps taken by the archbishop to invite the inhabitants to labour, he made some successful efforts to rescue their city from universal decay. The polished sword-blades of Toledo were once renowned for their temper and durability. Charles III. built an edifice of great dimensions for their manufacture upon a large scale; and trials have been made, which promise that the modern citizens of Toledo will soon restore to this branch of industry its ancient reputation.

They would never forgive me were I to pass over in silence their *cigarrales*, or small country houses, which have some resemblance to the *bastides* of Marseilles, only they are less ornamented and less numerous. Here, in the heat of the dog-days, they retire after dinner to seek coolness and repose in the shade of the orchards; but they cannot reach them, without the sweat running down their brows, as they traverse the scorching soil of some burnt-up meadow, or climb some rugged hill. And yet these are the gardens of Eden to the inhabitants of Toledo.

I shall now proceed to other objects, which, from being in the environs, or at a short distance only from the capital, deserve the attention of travellers.

. At the *Casa del Campo*, an ancient pleasure-house of the kings of Spain, which is only se-

parated from the new palace by the Mançanares, strangers will find large trees, some good pictures, and a fine equestrian statue of Philip III.

Villa-Viciosa, three great leagues from Madrid, is another royal residence to which Ferdinand VI. was much attached, but it has been abandoned by his successors.

San Fernando, another village at the same distance, has enjoyed a few years of celebrity on account of the cloth manufactures formerly established there. They have been transferred to Guadalaxara; but the cloths still preserve their ancient name. San Fernando, formerly animated by the presence of industry, now resounds with the impure voices of those unfortunate beings whom the police of Madrid has snatched from vice, to condemn them to a life of penitence. Twenty years ago this was the *Abbeville* of Spain. It is now the *Salpêtrière*.

Three leagues also from Madrid, there is a place less known, but more deserving of being so. It is called *Loeches*. Here are buried some chefs-d'œuvres unknown to the Spaniards themselves. The church of a small convent of nuns, founded by the Count Duke d'Olivarez, contains six capital pictures by Rubens, of the largest dimensions, and of the most magical effect. The principal piece is an allegorical

representation of the triumph of religion. It decorates the high altar, and combines all the beauties, and even the defects, which characterise its author; richness of composition, brilliancy of colouring, liveliness of expression, and carelessness of design. After this picture, the most striking is that in which Elijah is represented standing in the desert, at the moment when an angel appears to strengthen and encourage him.

Another object of curiosity, perhaps still less known to the Spaniards themselves, is to be found in the heart of the mountains of Old Castile, four or five leagues from the Escorial. It is a monument which has puzzled several antiquarians, and which bears the name of *Toros de Guisando*. Guisando is a convent of Hieronymites, placed mid-way in a chain of broken precipices, where, according to an ancient tradition, the sons of Pompey were defeated by the partizans of Cæsar, and where the conquerors sacrificed a hundred bulls, placing four of these animals in stone upon the theatre of their victory. Another tradition asserts, that these pretended bulls are elephants, and that they attest the passage of the Carthaginians, who have, in fact, left the clumsy effigies of these animals in several parts of Spain. But do the figures in question represent bulls or elephants? This is a question I tried to decide several years ago,

in concert with three strangers as curious as myself. We found, in a vineyard belonging to the convent of Guisando, four enormous blocks of a hard stone, similar to granite. They appeared to us so shapeless, that we were rather inclined to regard them as a *lusus naturæ*, than as productions of art. On considering them more closely, we thought we could guess at the intention of the sculptor, but the effects of his chisel have almost entirely disappeared under the file of time: no traces are left of the horns of the bull, or the proboscis of the elephant. The form of the ears, however, seems to indicate this last animal rather than the former; but the contours of the shoulders and flanks are so worn away, that we durst not judge from their appearance. In short, after an hour's consideration, we left the question undecided. We were almost ashamed of our fruitless journey. We ascended towards the monastery which overhangs this hieroglyphical monument. Here, at least, we found that no doubts were entertained as to the interpretation to be given on the subject. The first of the two traditions is consigned to posterity upon a plate, where we read distinctly the Latin inscription engraved upon the flanks of one of the blocks, and of which hardly any traces are to be discovered upon the original. The principal inscription is: *Bellum Cesaris et patriæ ex magna parte cen-*

fectum fuit; S. et Cn. Pompeii filiis hic in agro Bastetano profligatis. Another: *Exercitus victor, hostibus effusis.* They sufficiently indicate that the object of these monuments is to celebrate a victory over the sons of Pompey. It remains to be ascertained if this territory be the *Ager Bastetanus*, and to reconcile this version with the authority of the historians who place the defeat of Pompey's party in Andalusia.

The good Hieronymites, jealous of the reputation of their soil, found us an answer to all this; and that nothing might be wanting to produce conviction, they shewed us the caverns where the sons of Pompey sought a refuge after their defeat, and where they were put to death. Immediately afterwards they observed, that these very asylums of the martyrs of liberty, afforded a refuge fourteen centuries afterwards to the martyrs of repentance, and we were obliged to listen to the history of the retreat of the founders of their order to the bottom of these caverns, with the detail of their austerities, and to look at the traces of their footsteps.

The *toros de Guisando*, of which many people, even at Madrid, do not know the reality, are frequently introduced into familiar conversation to express, in a burlesque manner, the courage of a man capable of facing the greatest dangers; and in this sense, the phrase is put into

the mouth of one of the heroes of Cervantes. When I said, upon my return, that I had seen and touched these famous bulls, I was regarded as a most extraordinary personage. The illusion vanished when I described the enemies I had approached.

There is another district further from Madrid, which occupies a still more distinguished place than the *Toros de Guisando*, in the fabulous history of Spain: this is the Battuécas, to which Montesquieu alludes in his *Lettres Persanes*, when he says, that the Spaniards have in their own kingdom, whole provinces with which they are unacquainted. According to old traditions, the religion, language, and manners of the Spaniards were unknown in the Battuécas. In neighbouring villages had been heard extraordinary voices; shepherds were afraid to lead their flocks to the place. Could any thing more be wanted, to proclaim it the retreat of demons, or at least of some savage people? Every one related the history and particulars of it in his own way. The Battuécas furnished additional food for the gloomy imaginations of the Spaniards: they shone in their plays and romances; and Moreri did not disdain to give some of these ridiculous tales a place in his dictionary.

Father Feijoo, an enlightened monk, was one of the first who combated these absurdities with success. From his inquiries, and from

my own journey to the *Battuécas*, it appears, that they are two uncultivated vallies, scarcely a league in length, and so narrow, so hermetically closed on all sides, that the sun scarcely ever shines there in winter. This small district is remarkable for its groups of rocks curiously shaped, for the variety of the trees, the windings of the small river which waters these vallies, for the excavations of the mountains, and the quantity of animals of all kinds for which they serve as an asylum. The only human habitation which deserves to be remarked, is a convent of barefooted Carmelites, whose cells are almost buried beneath the rocks which overhang, and by the trees which shade them. We may make the tour of Europe without finding a place so well adapted for the asylum of silence and of peace. This district, which is almost inaccessible, and entirely out of the road to any town, is completely unfrequented. The few inquisitive persons who present themselves here, are regarded as eccentrics, by the peaceful inhabitants, who cannot conceive the motives which brought them hither. Their territory, which they seldom or never leave, is situated in the bishoprick of *Soria*, eight leagues from *Ciudad Rodrigo*, and fourteen from *Salamanca*.

"*Avila* and *Alcala*, are also two cities not far from *Madrid*, which a traveller may be inclined to visit, on account of their reputation.

Avila is situated upon an eminence, nearly twenty leagues from the capital. Its thick walls, its towers, its Alcazar, and the dome of the old Gothic cathedral, give it an imposing appearance at a distance. But it would be difficult to exaggerate its state of depopulation and poverty. The absence of a great number of landed proprietors, who have removed to other places, and have left their estates to stewards, is the principal cause of its decline. At the beginning of last century it had a manufacture of cloth, which has fallen into decay, and which the council of Castile has in vain attempted to revive. In 1789, however, two Englishmen, expert in the manufacture of cotton cloths, were attracted to Spain. In order to be near the sea, they were desirous to settle in Galicia or Catalonia. But the Spaniards wished them to be near the court, and they were obliged to settle at *Avila*, in the edifice occupied for some years by the military school, since transferred to Port Santa Marja. Their outset was not promising. They found the strongest prejudices existing against them at *Avila*. The people threatened to stone them. The priests succeeded in making the common people believe that these heretics devoured catholic children. Those who did not absolutely persecute, at least shunned them. The peasants of the neighbourhood made a great circuit rather than pass near their house. Gradually, however, these

prejudices vanished. People were accustomed to see them, and they began to restore abundance to the province. In 1792, more than 700 persons were employed in their manufactory, or its dependencies, and there was no longer a single pauper in Avila. I saw these two Englishmen presented at court, in 1792, and their reception was such as in some degree to make amends for the persecutions of fanaticism and of ignorance. But ought we not to complain of a government which has such enemies to contend against, when it enters upon useful enterprises? At a distance we judge too much from results, without calculating upon obstacles. Hence that severity which closely approaches to injustice.*

Alcala keeps up its reputation a little better than Avila. The six leagues which separate it from Madrid are pleasant; after the first, we find the village of *Cunillejas*, in the midst of orchards and gardens; a real phenomenon in the environs of Madrid. A league further on we cross the Henares by a fine stone bridge, and we leave upon its right *Leganes*, one of the quarters of the regiment of Walloon Guards;

* These manufactories at Avila have passed into other hands, but have gained nothing by the change. The management was given to Bettancourt, the eminent French mechanist, whose activity embraces too many objects to descend to the minutiae of a manufactory. This establishment, which promised so much at its outset, is now almost annihilated.

Vicalvaro, which has always a detachment of the regiment of Spanish guards, and *San Fernando*.

On the other side of the Henares, begins a fine sloping bank, and we perceive the town of *Torrejon*, beyond which is another stone bridge over the *Tojote*, a small river, which in summer scarcely deserves the name of a brook. A little lower down it flows into the Henares, which winds in a picturesque manner, as it approaches *Alcala*, and its banks are shaded with trees.

The Henares, from which *Alcala* takes its surname, runs at some distance from this city, at the foot of a range of craggy hills. *Alcala* is still surrounded by walls. It is very narrow in proportion to its length, but is well built and clean: although it contains many churches and convents, and has few other branches of industry than the culture of its fields, which produce excellent wheat, it has not, like many other towns of Castile, the repulsive appearances of poverty. Its university would scarcely deserve to be named, if it had not been founded by Cardinal Ximenes. In order to prepare the famous edition of the Bible, known among churchmen by the name of *Biblia Complutensis*, he invited hither some true scholars, who have had but very few successors worthy of the reputation which *Alcala* thus acquired.

CHAP. II.

Route from Madrid to Saragossa. Arragon and its Cortès. New Canal of Arragon. Road from Lerida.

ALCALA is upon the road from Madrid to Saragossa, a considerable city of Spain, which I visited in 1792, in order to examine more closely, the wonders I had heard respecting the canal of Arragon. Thither I shall now conduct my readers, and make them acquainted at the same time with the canal and the province, which it is intended to benefit.

Four leagues further than Alcala is the interesting city of Guadalaxara, seated upon an eminence, a little beyond the Henares. A fine road afterwards leads us to the miserable village of Torrija; thence to *Grajanejos*, the soil is barren and stony, and the road very bad in rainy weather. From the top of the hill upon which this town is situated, you enjoy the prospect of a small valley, very narrow, but beautiful and cultivated like a garden. This is the most picturesque point of view in the journey. But after passing *Grajanejos*, we have to traverse a most gloomy and naked country until

we come to Bujarraval, a miserable village surrounded by rocks, two leagues from Sigüenza. The appearance of this country grows still worse as you proceed by an abrupt and stony descent, to the bottom of a dale, where on the banks of a rivulet is situated *Fuencaliente*, another village belonging to the Duke of Medina Celi, whose chief residence is in front, upon the summit of one of the circular mountains forming this valley. Here, some fine houses, verdure, and fields of hemp, which are prolonged through the valley, give an agreeable refreshment to the eye. Meadows covered with cattle and well cultivated plains, now conduct the traveller to the hamlet of *Londares*; a league beyond which we find a village lately built under the direction of the bishop of Sigüenza; for, throughout all Spain, the prelates stand at the head of the benefactors of their country. A little further, on the summit of a mountain, is an old castle, worthy of the most flourishing era of the feudal system. No doubt it had formerly a military destination. At present it is one of the peaceful appendages to the bishopric of Sigüenza.

From *Londares* to *Arcos*, the road is intersected by abrupt windings and broken precipices, passing through a terrific country which is the north-eastern extremity of New Castile. *Arcos*, a miserable town, but finely situated, is

the last in the province, and one of the thirteen belonging to the Duke de Medina Celi. For the three leagues which separate it from *Monreal*, another wretched town in ruins and the first upon entering Arragon, the country and roads are equally frightful; we must however except the approaches to *Huerta*, a village belonging to a monastery of Bernardines, who have produced around them an appearance of affluence, a luxuriant cultivation, and plenty of trees: the difference is always very striking in Spain between the possessions of ecclesiastics and those of rich lay proprietors, and which is easily accounted for, by the constant residence of the former, and the perpetual absence of the latter. This monastery contains some remarkable tombs, and among others, those of several French gentlemen who came with the constable du Guesclin to the assistance of Henri de Transtamare. The traveller who wishes to pass a few hours in visiting these curiosities, will have reason to praise the hospitality of the monks, and will find at their table sufficient to make amends for the wretched appearance of the country.

Monreal belongs to the family of Ariza, whose principal seat is a league further off. The old family castle is on an eminence, at the bottom of which they have an elegant modern residence. The river Xalon, which we shall so

often meet with, flows very near it, enlivening and embellishing the neighbourhood where it forms a cascade. We cross the Xalon by a handsome bridge. The scenery here is worthy of the traveller's pencil.

On leaving Monreal, we find a rapid descent, after which, the road is very good as far as *Cetina*. From this village to Bubberca we have two long leagues of a charming road, between two rows of hills. At the foot of those on the right, the Xalon waters a valley in high cultivation. Half way on, we pass this river by a small stone bridge, and proceed along it to Bubberca, a village in a picturesque situation in the midst of rocky eminences.

From this place to Calatayud, we change horses once at *Ateca*, a village surrounded with fertile vineyards. I advise travellers who stop at Ateca to ask for a kind of wine called *Cerriñana*; in colour it is something like the eyes of a partridge, its taste is mild and pleasant, and will make amends for the black, thick wine, which they will meet with in this part of Arragon to the very gates of Saragossa, and which is the most poisonous beverage ever given to human beings.

After leaving Ateca, the valley becomes broader, but is still fertile; it is watered by the Xalon, the road following the windings of that

river at a distance along the hills. I have not seen a more agreeable country in Spain than this valley, which is cultivated with the greatest care from Cetina to Calatayud.

Branches have been cut from the Xalon in a very simple way, which diffuse its benefits over all the adjacent lands through which they pass; and you must not come to this charming valley to seek proofs of indolence or want of ingenuity in the Spaniards.

Half a league before you reach Calatayud, commences a chain of rugged and uncouth rocks which somewhat disfigure the pleasing landscape. This city itself, is as it were incrustated in the midst of these rocks. The most agreeable part of it is situated at their foot, and overlooks a valley towards the south, of considerable breadth, adjacent to the town.

The productions of this rich valley, are corn, wine, vegetables, and particularly hemp, a great quantity of which is exported to Old Castile; but still more to Bilboa and St. Sebastian. This hemp is used for cordage for the royal navy; and it is purchased by commissaries stationed at Calatayud for the purpose.

No oil is produced in this neighbourhood. There are, however, twelve or thirteen soap-works at Calatayud, which send great quantities of their commodities to Castile: they procure their barilla from the eastern part of Arragon.

The city is not what it was formerly: it contains scarcely 1500 houses, but to make amends there are ten parish churches and fifteen convents, some of which are remarkable, from their magnificent appearance and prodigious size. Calatayud and Tarraçona have one bishop for both, who resides at the latter place. The former is very near the scite of the ancient Bilbilis, the birth-place of Martial.

Half a league before we reach Calatayud, the Xalon receives the Xiloca, which then loses its name, although Lopez, the principal geographer of Modern Spain, gives it that appellation until it falls into the Ebro. I think it best to follow the custom of the country, and the opinion of Abbé Ponz, in this respect.

The country is extremely unequal from Calatayud to the gates of *Fresno*, situated in a pleasant and well-cultivated valley. After having ascended some eminences, we have before us the town of *Almunia*, surrounded to a great distance by vineyards, olive and fig-trees, interspersed with fields of hemp and maize; part of M. d'Aranda's estates lie in this beautiful country. This fine scenery continues to the distance of a league beyond Almunia; but afterwards we see nothing but heath and a very naked country, extending to the miserable *Venta de la Romera*, and even to the very entrance of *Saragossa*.

Half a league beyond the last stage but one (the *Muela*) we begin to have a view of this celebrated city in the midst of a beautiful and extensive plain upon the right bank of the Ebro.

We shall not pretend to enumerate the sacred edifices contained in Saragossa ; the most remarkable are the two cathedrals ; one of them is called the church *de la Scu*, and is of a majestic simplicity ; the other, is famous in Spain, and even throughout the Catholic world, *as Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, and even Cardinal de Retz has not scrupled to dedicate some pages of his *Memoirs* to an account of it.* It is a large

* The following is the passage alluded to in Retz's *Memoirs*. 'This same attendant upon the viceroy shewed me every thing remarkable at Saragossa. I was always concealed, as I have already said, under the name of the Marquis de Saint Florent. But he never reflected that *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, could not be seen under this title. This miraculous image is never shewn but to sovereigns and cardinals. The Marquis de Saint Florent was neither the one nor the other ; so that when they saw me in the balustrade with a close-bodied black velvet coat and a cravat, the multitude collected from all parts of the town, at the sound of the bell, which is tolled for this ceremony only, thought I was the King of England (Charles II.) There were, I think, more than two hundred carriages full of ladies, who paid me a thousand compliments, and which I answered like one who could not speak good Spanish. This church is beautiful of itself, but in addition to this the ornaments and riches of it are immense and the treasure magnificent. They here shewed me a man, who was employed in lighting the lamps, which are in prodigious numbers, and they told me this man

gloomy edifice, crowded with ornaments in a wretched taste, although rebuilt at the end of the seventeenth century. But the miraculous image, around which there is not a single one of the *ex voto*'s, or silver lamps, mentioned by the cardinal, is in a modern chapel formed by superb marble columns of the Corinthian order. The devotion of the Arragonese could not pay less homage to the pious tradition which records the appearance of the Virgin to St. James, in order to impart her wishes to him, that her image should be placed in a temple on this bank of the Ebro.

The arches of the rebuilt part of this church have been recently painted in fresco, by the two brothers, Bayen, and Don Francisco Goya, all three natives of Saragossa.

To add another trait to the history of human stupidity, we must descend into a cavern of the church of *Santa Engracia*. Here are deposited the ashes of a crowd of martyrs immolated

was seen seven years ago at the door of the church with only one leg: I saw him now with two. The dean and all the canons assured me that the whole city had seen him and that if I waited two days longer I might converse with more than 20,000 country people who had seen him as well as those in the city. He had recovered his leg; they said, by rubbing himself with the oil of these lamps. Once a year this pretended miracle, is celebrated by an immense concourse, and it is true that at a day's journey from Saragossa, I found the high road covered with people of all descriptions running to this pious festival.

by persecuting emperors. Silver lamps burn there day and night in honour of them; but the smoke which they emit does not blacken the roof. And in order to prove this to the curious, they shew the roof, which, although very low, is certainly not smoked. They invite those who seem still to entertain doubts to put a piece of white paper over one of these lamps. I tried this experiment, and I must confess, I saw, or thought I saw that my paper was not blackened. I had still my doubts, but I took care to conceal them from my bigotted conductors. I was however, tempted to say to them: God has not thought proper to work any striking miracle to accelerate the end of the French Revolution, or to calm the passions which it has roused, and do you think that he would condescend to perform here, a miracle as obscure as your cavern, and useless as your own existence?

I shall call the attention of my readers with more pleasure, to the new *Casa de la Misericordia*; the building of which was finished in 1792. It stands close by the old one, and does equal honour to the intelligence and to the patriotism of Don Ramon Pignatelli. Young persons of both sexes; who are without work and without friends, here find subsistence and employment. They wind silk, spin, and card

wool; the latter is a valuable production for the country, although of inferior quality. They also weave some coarse woollen cloths, camblets, and even silks. Of 700 persons contained in this building, more than one half work for the manufacturers of the city: for it was the opinion of its wise founder, whom Arragon and Spain have now lost, that without this expedient, the manufactures of charitable foundations would retard rather than promote industry. There are besides at Saragossa some manufactories, with the productions of which several regiments are clothed.

Saragossa has an academy of fine arts, an insignificant university, and a patriotic society. The latter deserves every encomium. It encourages every branch of industry, and particularly new plantations. It has established schools for mathematics and commerce. Don Martin Goyecochea, one of its members, some years ago, founded a school for drawing at his own expense. Saragossa, in a word, is gradually awaking from her long lethargy, and is rendering herself worthy to be the capital of the fine kingdom of Arragon.

Arragon was formerly more populous than at present. A great number of its towns and villages have entirely disappeared. Its population is now reduced to 614,060 inhabitants, of which number Saragossa contains 42,600. Ar-

ragon has made an honourable figure in the history of free governments.* Although the royal dignity was hereditary, the title of every new king was confirmed by the states, and no sovereign could mount the throne without swearing to maintain their privileges. In order to balance the authority of the sovereign, they had established a magistrate by the name of the *Justicia Mayor*, who was accountable to the states only for his conduct. At the inauguration of the king this supreme magistrate was seated upon an elevated tribunal, with his head covered. The king appeared before him uncovered, and on his knees took an oath to govern according to the laws. It was then that the proclamation, so often quoted of late years, was pronounced in the name of the Aragonese: *Nos que valemós tanto como vos, os hacemos nuestro rey y Señor con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades; SI NO, NO.* 'We who are each of us as good as you are, have received you for our king and lord, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; IF NOT, NOT.'

The admiration inspired at first by the recollection of this imposing ceremony is a little weakened, when we learn that it is not so much before the people or their representatives

* See Adams on the American Constitution.

that the king thus humbled himself, as before an assembly of nobles (*ricos hombres*) who were indebted for their estates to the force of arms. At first, twelve of the ancient families only were admitted into this assembly, but gradually they increased in number, and were divided into *superior* and *inferior* nobility. In this meeting of the states, the clergy were represented by prelates, and the large cities by deputies. But the mechanics, artisans, and shopkeepers, were excluded from the rank of citizens. Thus the commonalty was very imperfectly represented; but the assembly thus constituted made laws for the whole nation. The *Justicia Mayor* was the only barrier opposed by turns to the usurpations of the *cortes* of Arragon, and to those of the king. But at length, the prelates became the devoted slaves of the monarch; the deputies from the cities were frequently corrupted; and the king, by successively increasing the number of his partisans in these two orders, swayed the nobility, and became what he is at present, an absolute monarch. There still existed, however, a shadow of the *Cortes* of Arragon. In 1702, Philip V. in a moment of embarrassment assembled them, as well as those of Catalonia, who had not been assembled for two centuries. The young queen presided over the *Cortes* of Arragon in the king's absence. She found that they would

scarcely listen to her applications, and with great difficulty obtained 100,000 crowns.

The success of Philip V. and the resistance opposed to him by these two provinces, made them lose their feeble claims to his regard. They were treated as conquered provinces; and of their *cortes* nothing now remains except the ruins, of which we have spoken in another place. The court of Madrid, however, is not even at this day, entirely freed from the alarm inspired by Arragon and Catalonia, peopled with inhabitants of a splenetic cast, and extremely difficult to mould to the yoke of despotism. At present, all those who are not absolutely devoted to the Bourbon dynasty are considered as belonging to the *Arragonese faction*, or discontented party; and it is to these salutary fears of the crown, that the Arragonese and Catalonians are indebted for the respect shewn by foreigners to a constitution, which no longer exists except in their regrets.

Arragon contains several cities which deserve to be mentioned after Saragossa.

Huesca, which is twelve leagues from it, is situated in a district remarkable for its fertility.

Tarraqona, thirteen great leagues from Saragossa, is in the midst of a district well supplied with wood and water.

Terruel is situated between Saragossa and

Valencia. Its name recalls the adventures of two lovers, who are introduced into one of the most affecting Spanish dramas,* and whose ashes are preserved with religious respect in one of the churches of this city.

The small river Turia, before it reaches Terruel, passes through Albarracin, traversing and fertilizing a beautiful plain which extends beyond that place.

Daroca, situated upon one of the roads from Madrid to Saragossa, deserves also to be named. Placed at the foot of the mountains, and on the banks of the Xiloca, it is exposed to frequent inundations. To preserve it, if possible, from this evil, a subterraneous passage has been dug, 780 yards in length, in order to give a vent to the waters which menace it. The banks of the Xiloca are unusually fertile in every kind of fruit, and produce hemp of an excellent quality in abundance.

The chief riches of Arragon consist in its oil, which is mild, nutritive, and of an excellent flavour. There are several olive mills in Saragossa. One of the most remarkable belongs to a worthy patriot, whose name we have already mentioned, Don Martin Goyecochea. To him the proprietors of olive plantations who

* *Los Amantes de Terruel*, an old heroic, or tragi-comic drama, which, although full of extravagancies, like most of the dramatic compositions of that age, is not without interest.

have no mills, bring their olives. This gentleman has combined under his own roof, every thing which is necessary for the country people, who come to borrow the use of his mill. His establishment proves what can be done by an individual even in Spain, if he has the good of mankind at heart. I remarked, with pleasure, that the twenty or thirty workmen employed in this mill were all Frenchmen, who came annually, about the month of December, from our southern provinces. The Spaniards themselves confess that their own workmen would make bad substitutes for these strangers, who are not less remarkable for their good conduct than for their intelligence. In other mills, however, Spanish workmen are employed. At Monte Torrero, a spot near the city, which has been recently levelled and planted with vines and olives, there is a mill for the olives produced by the lands bordering on the canal of Arragon, or for those paid as tribute by such proprietors whose grounds it supplies with water.

We shall here give some details respecting this canal, the principal object of my visit to Arragon. It passes within half a league of Saragossa, at the foot of *Monte Torrero*. Here are magazines where corn, timber for building, iron, and other utensils, are deposited. These edifices, remarkable for their convenience and

solidity, contribute much to embellish the canal. It was here that I embarked in a yacht, in order to visit six fine locks, which are a great league below Saragossa. Half a league higher up there are four more, which succeed each other on its leaving a large basin, where we embark in order to ascend to its source.

Having been introduced to Don Ramon Pignatelli, the real founder of this canal, one of the master-pieces of Spanish industry, I obtained, through him, the means of making this little voyage with much personal convenience, and with great advantage in point of information. I set off at eight o'clock in the morning, in a large bark, under the auspices of Don Juan Payas, director of the canal. At noon we stopped at the most remarkable place, being where the canal is carried by an aqueduct of hewn stone, 710 fathoms in length, over the river Xalon, which pursues its course under this stupendous piece of masonry. This was the most expensive part of the canal, having cost nearly thirteen millions of reals. We slept at the *Canaleta*, another point worthy of attention. The old canal for watering the soil, cut from the Xalon, coming from the west, here • takes its course through the midst of a stone bridge built over the new canal, and after having thus crossed it proceeds eastward towards *Lucena*.

Next day we admired the works at Gallur, a village upon a barren eminence, on the banks of the Ebro, which approaches very close to the canal at this place. *The inequality and roughness of the ground which it has to flow through here, has necessarily occasioned some very extensive works. A little lower down, the canal is carried by a tunnel of masonry through some very high hills, but this work is not modern. Under Charles the Fifth, the first founder of the canal of Arragon, this part of it was under ground. It has since only been exposed to view.

Half a league lower down than Gallur we perceive the Ebro, and in the back ground, beyond its left bank, the village of Tauste, which gives its name to a canal completely modern. That which we are now describing, and which is properly the imperial canal, was begun under Charles the Fifth, who, being distracted by his restless ambition, was obliged to suspend its further execution, and it was not again thought of until 1770. From this period it has made but slow progress, and perhaps would have made none at all, had it not been for the extraordinary perseverance of Don Ramon Pignatelli. At its approach to the Bocal, or the spot where the canal commences, it is separated into two branches by a small island. On the right is the old canal of Charles the Fifth,

that on the left being the modern one. Soon after we pass under the bridge of Formigales, on approaching which the modern canal grows wider, and presents a superb sheet of water. It is under this bridge, of a single arch, that we find the first outlet of the canal. (*Almenara de Desague.*)

There are, or will be, five bridges over the canal between Gallur and the Bocal. They are at first built of wood, but afterwards of brick.

Two leagues from the Bocal, after having passed the old castle of Mallen, we enter the kingdom of Navarre. Here the canal commands a vast plain planted with vegetables and maize.

Below Formigales, we find the bridge of Valverde, the boundary of Arragon on this side. We afterwards arrive at the Bocal, which is a short quarter of a league beyond Formigales.

Here the Ebro, restrained by a dyke 118 fathoms long by seventeen broad, enters the bed of the canal by eleven inlets, but which never supply it with water all at once, and close to which the new palace has been built. From one of the fronts of this edifice, we have a view of the fine sheet of water formed within the dyke, and on our right a cascade.

On the first floor are apartments for the governor of the establishment, which were not finished until 1782; the adjoining edifices are

magazines for timber, planks, and iron work. The inn which is spacious, clean, and kept by a native of Thoulouse, the chapel and the old castle are a quarter of a league further near the bridge of Formigales.

When we have examined this canal in all its details; when we have seen how every thing has been provided for, every thing well conceived and well executed; when we find that to this great enterprize must be added several other monuments or establishments scattered throughout modern Spain, it is impossible to retain against its inhabitants the unfavourable prejudices still cherished by a great part of Europe, and not to admit, that if they act slowly, they at least act with intelligence, and execute their projects with solidity, and even with magnificence.

The canal of Arragon seems to combine all these qualities, and its utility is already attested by an experience of more than twenty years. In the month of August 1792, it yielded two million of reals, more than one half of which was devoted to the payment of the workmen; and the balance was to be set apart for the continuation of the work. The sources of this revenue are the produce of a tract of ground several fathoms broad on each of its banks, besides contributions in kind levied upon all the fields near which it passes. Those which were

before in a state of cultivation pay one-fifth of the crop; lands recently brought into tillage one-sixth; vineyards, olive plantations, and orchards an eighth or a ninth. At the same period one hundred thousand acres were watered by this canal; and a few years afterwards lands, formerly sold at from 100 to 150 reals an acre, rose to the value of 4 or 5000. Can there be a stronger argument in favour of canals, and that of Arragon in particular?

This canal is to have thirty-four locks. None of them are required however between Tudela and Saragossa; but from the latter place to Sastago, where the canal will enter the Ebro, the elevation of the ground renders them indispensable. In 1793, six only were finished, the expense of the twenty-eight others is not alarming; each of those already made cost no more than 200,000 reals. Thus it will require only six millions for those still remaining to be executed.

They have besides made for the advantage of the canal,

1. Sluices (*Almenaras de desagüe*,) in order to carry off the superfluous water.

2. Cuts for watering the adjacent fields, (*Almenaras de riego*.)

3. Small bridges, or *Alcantarillas*, in order to carry the canal over ravines. Cross roads pass under these bridges.

4. Superficial currents, (*Corrientes superf-*

ciales,) by means of which the torrents glide over the surface of the canal, after having deposited in a kind of pit, the stones, mud, and gravel, which generally accompany them.

When it is found necessary to cleanse the canal, it can be drained dry in four or five hours. At one and the same instant all the sluices are opened, and the water runs off into the Ebro.

The cut made from this river below Tudela, does not perceptibly diminish its waters; and it requires greater care to guard against an overflow than a scarcity; but every thing has been so well arranged that they can furnish almost to the tenth of an inch the quantity of water required for the canal.

In short, there is not a more useful establishment in Spain. For a long time the course of the Ebro had been an insufficient medium of communication for the three provinces through which it runs, Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia. The canal in question will be twenty-six great leagues in length, from Tudela to Sastago. At this last place the Ebro begins to be navigable, with slight interruptions, as far as Tortosa, and thence to the sea. Along this river there is another canal, twelve leagues in length, and which was finished even before the reign of Charles the Fifth. This is the canal of *Tauste*, but being merely intended for watering the neighbouring grounds, it was neglected and consequently not of much utility. The directors of

the new canal undertook to restore the old one; but in the expectation that the new dyke would serve both canals at once, they have allowed the old canal to remain, although half a league higher.

The Ebro itself, notwithstanding all these improvements, is not totally useless to the country through which it runs. But being navigable for four or five months in the year only, from Saragossa to the sea, it is a precarious resource, even for navigation, and contributes nothing towards irrigation. The new canal, on the contrary, serves both purposes. Its least depth is nine feet, and the largest barks carry about 2700 quintals.

The Bocal is very near Navarre. The village of *Fontellas* is situated towards the east, upon an eminence adjoining the canal. We there cross it to go to *Tudela*, which is only two leagues off, and is the principal town of this part of the kingdom of Navarre.

On leaving Fontellas, we find a specimen of the excellent roads with which it has been provided before any other part of Spain, by the care of its viceroy, the Count de Gages; these roads traverse Navarre from one extremity to the other. It is well known that one of the roads leading from France into Navarre, is that from French, or Lower Navarre to Upper Navarre. Setting out on horseback, or on mules, from St.

Jean Pied-de-Port, a small town, situated at the foot of the very rugged Pyrenean mountain, called *Altovizar*, we are two or three hours ascending it before we reach Ronceveaux, placed at the foot of the Pyrenees on the other side. Ronceveaux, the name of which is famous in romances and in fabulous history, is at present nothing but a village, where there are some tolerable inns, and a monastery of regular canons.

From this place to Pampeluna, the distance is only six leagues of good road, through deep vallies and among high mountains, partly covered with wood. In this stage we have, upon the right, the valley of Bastan, which has been, up to the present time, the theatre of the quarrels of the respective frontier powers. We may easily conceive it to be an apple of discord, when we have passed through it. It is five or six leagues in diameter. The Bidassoa here has its source; it has not much corn, but it abounds in fruits, maize, and meadows covered with flocks.

Pampeluna, the capital of Spanish Navarre, and the seat of the governor and viceroy, is built upon an eminence, on the banks of the small river Arga. It contains no more than 3000 houses; it is protected by a citadel and fort, and, in 1795, preparations were here made to oppose some resistance to our victorious

armies. The six leagues between Pampeluna and Tafalla pass through a rich and populous country. Of the eleven leagues between Tafalla and Tudela, the last six also pass through a highly cultivated country, if we except the *Bardena del Rey*, a wild district, but abounding in pasture.

Tudela, which is only a great league from the frontiers of Arragon, is but an inferior kind of city, but it is well built. At the extremity of the broad street, which runs through it, is a stone bridge over the Ebro, after crossing which you enter upon the excellent road leading to Pampeluna, a distance of seventeen leagues. The ground around Tudela, hitherto little known, except for its red wine, would be fit for every kind of culture; but the ill-judged avidity of the rich proprietors, among whom it is divided, has devoted it almost entirely to that of the vine. *Peralta*, the wine of which is also in repute, lies but a few leagues from Tudela, very near the road from Pampeluna.

The kingdom of Navarre, conquered by Ferdinand the Catholic from Jean d'Albret, forms like Biscay, a separate province, preserving its customs, particular privileges, and tribunal; and in several respects it is considered as lying beyond the frontiers. Most kinds of foreign merchandize find free admission without paying

any duties. They are not inspected until they arrive at *Agreda*, the first custom-house of Castile, on the side of Navarre.

But let us now return to Arragon, and quit this canal, which deserves the attention of all the admirers of useful and durable enterprizes, and of all those who have the public welfare at heart. Even if it were never finished, it would be sufficient to immortalize the name of Ramon Pignatelli; who, regardless of the two circumstances which invited him to idleness, his ecclesiastical profession, and his high birth, has evinced himself, in spite of intrigues and the forbidding coldness of the court, one of the most active and enlightened citizens of whom modern Spain can boast.*

* Upon the death of Don Ramon Pignatelli, the Count de Sastago, an Arragunese nobleman, personally interested himself in the success of the canal of Arragon, and was appointed to preside *ad interim* over the continuation of these works; but he only filled this place about three years, when it was intrusted to the general superintendants of roads and bridges, established at Madrid. It was soon discovered that the enterprize could not succeed under the auspices of a distant council, and occupied with other matters. One of the judges of the court of justice at Saragossa, was appointed director of the canal. He was zealously and successfully fulfilling these new functions, when he was promoted to a higher situation, which obliged him to remove to Granada; and it is from the latter city that he has to direct the works at the canal of Arragon, which cannot make much progress under such changes. Besides this, the want of money has thrown new obstacles in the way. The pre-

Saragossa is upon one of the two roads from Madrid to Barcelona; but this road is one of the most disagreeable in Spain, and gives no favourable idea either of Arragón or of Catalonia. No tract indeed can be more désert, more depopulated, more dreary, than a great part of the country which we pass through, after leaving Villa Franca, where we begin to lose sight of Saragossa, until we are two leagues beyond the gloomy town of Fraga, situated on the banks of the Cinca, at the foot of a rugged mountain, of difficult ascent, on the way to Lerida. After Villa Franca, the *Venta de Santa Lucia* presents itself; the most disgusting inn of all Spain. Proceeding from this place through the town of *Bujaraloz*, we arrive at the

sent director had, indeed, succeeded in reserving a fund of about five millions of reals, from the produce of the canal; but the minister of the finance seized it, in 1803, and applied it to more urgent necessities. Here we have too many reasons why this project, not less useful than splendid, has not yet realized all the hopes conceived from it. In 1804, the principal canal of Arragon did not pass beyond the Carthusian convent which is a league from Saragossa. They had, however, recently made some small sluices for watering the fields, one of which goes as far as the village of Burgo, two leagues from Saragossa, and another to the beginning of the district of the little town of Fuentes, which is three leagues from that city. With respect to irrigation, Arragon begins at least to enjoy very sensibly the benefits of its canal. Its agriculture is improved, and, in 1804, it was enabled, by the transmission of grain from Saragossa to Madrid, to assist in relieving the horrors of the famine which then desolated Castile.

miserable village of *Candasnos*, separated from Fraga by five long dismal leagues, after which we enter Catalonia. Lerida is nearly at the same distance from it. But we shall treat elsewhere of this important city, and of the twenty-five leagues between it and Barcelona.

Let us now proceed towards the south of Spain, beginning with the beautiful residence of Aranjuez.

CHAP. III.

Description of Aranjuez.

THE road from Madrid to Aranjuez is one of the finest and in the best repair of any in Europe. At first setting out, we come to the wide and long bridge of Toledo, a massy piece of architecture the parapets of which are loaded with ornaments in a wretched taste. We may avoid this bridge, however, and save a circuit of a quarter of a league, when the waters of the Mançanares are very low; and we then cross, by a small bridge, the canal intended to unite this river with the Tagus, begun under the administration of M. de Grimaldi, but abandoned after proceeding for about three leagues, for want of funds, and because such men as Don Ramon Pignatelli are still very scarce in Spain. The only revenue derived from it is the produce of some mills; and this is swallowed by the keeping up of bridges and locks, and by the salaries of overseers, &c. For almost every where, no sooner is an establishment set on foot, than the expenses of its support are as considerable as if it had been finished.

A little further on, we ford the *Mançanares*; after which we find ourselves once more upon the fine road to *Aranjuez*, with groves of olive trees scattered at intervals on each side. At the end of six leagues of a straight and level road, we descend into the charming valley of *Aranjuez*. The *Xarama* flows along the hills which form the northern side. As soon as we reach the valley, the parched and naked plains of Castile disappear; the climate and soil are changed: we now proceed under the shade of large trees, amidst the roaring of cascades and the murmuring of rivulets. The meadows are enamelled with flowers; the parterres display the most lively and most variegated colours. The most luxuriant vegetation is every where exhibited. We surmise the proximity of a river which fertilizes and enlivens the landscape. The *Tagus*, which enters the valley at the east end, winds along it for nearly two leagues, and then unites with the *Xarama*, after having reflected from its surface the image of the most beautiful plantations.

The embellishments of *Aranjuez* are modern, (Plate XIV.) The first Spanish monarch who established his residence there for some time, was Charles the Fifth. He began the building of the palace inhabited by his successors. Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. added a new wing each. Under this new form, it is not so much

a royal residence, as a very fine country seat. The Tagus, runs at right angles with the eastern façade, coasts along the parterre, and forms an artificial cascade almost under the windows. A small branch of this river escapes from the cascade and approaches so near to the walls of the palace, that the king may enjoy the pleasure of angling from his terrace. This branch afterwards unites with the principal arm, and thus forms a delightful island, which is but one extensive garden of an irregular form; coolness and shade are here found at all seasons. On penetrating the labyrinth formed by the numerous alleys, we enjoy the luxuriance and serenity of nature, and we may fancy ourselves at a distance from courts in the bosom of rural solitude. Large trees, lofty walls of verdure, some cascades plainly decorated; these are all the ornaments of this insular garden. If it were more splendid it would please us less.

Charles the Vth and Philip the IId would scarcely recognize Aranjuez, which has been rendered by the improvements of succeeding monarchs, one of the most agreeable residences in Europe. Its principal alleys however, and that in particular called the *Calle de la Reyna*, are of much older date than the late reigns. The height of the trees, their enormous trunks and thick foliage, attest their antiquity, as well as the goodness of the soil which has borne

them for many centuries. But they do not form the only ornament of the valley of Aranjuez. Under Ferdinand the VIth, this residence had scarcely any thing to shew but the palace. Some ruinous houses scattered over an uneven piece of ground, at some distance from the royal habitation, served for the dwellings of the attendants upon the court and the ambassadors. These have given way to uniform houses, built with elegant simplicity. The principal streets are shaded by two rows of trees, at the foot of which runs a stream of water. All of them are perfectly straight and very wide; perhaps too broad in proportion to the lowness of the houses, and the heat of the climate. M. de Grimaldi was the author of the plan upon which the new village of Aranjuez was built. Before he was sent to France as an ambassador, or elevated to the post of prime minister, he had filled a diplomatic situation at the Hague, where he conceived the idea of founding a Dutch town in the centre of Castile.

The village is separated from the castle by an extensive, but irregular square decorated by a fountain. Charles III. caused a portico almost entirely covered, to be constructed. It begins at one end of the principal streets of the village, and forming a part of the enclosure of this square, unites with the adjoining buildings of the palace.

We should never finish, were we to lead our readers through all the fine plantations at Aranjuez: we shall therefore, confine our observations to the principal ones. On arriving from Madrid, we pass through a circular enclosure, called *Las Doce Calles*, from the twelve alleys which diverge from it. One of these alleys leads to the entrance of *Las Huertas*, a vast orchard, where we may admire the astonishing fertility of the soil of Aranjuez. If we wish to see a specimen of cultivation on a larger scale, and not less luxuriant, we may take the road towards Toledo and visit the *Campo Flamenco*, so called, without doubt, because it resembles the fine gardens of Flanders. We must not neglect the *Cortijo*, another enclosure, surrounded with an open railing, where the soil, cultivated with particular care, repays with usury, the efforts of the agriculturist, and those of the king, who has here planted slips of vines from different places in the kingdom.

Lastly, the *Huerta de Valencia* exhibits some successful attempts at cultivation, and a kind of foretaste of the kingdom of Valencia. Besides fields of hemp, artificial meadows and vineyards, we here find plantations of chesnuts, and a building consecrated to the labours of the silk worm. But what is most remarkable, and best known among the plantations of Aranjuez, is the *Calle de la Reyna*, which forms,

as it were, its back-bone. It pursues, for nearly half a league, a direction from east to west, and is terminated at a stone bridge thrown over the Tagus. It then proceeds for no less a distance and ends at another bridge upon the same river, the sinuosities of which, can only be followed by the imagination, through a valley shadowed with shrubs and large trees, which conceal its course at intervals from our view. Behind one of these thick curtains is hidden a cascade, the noise of which is heard at a great distance, and is the only interruption to the tranquillity that reigns in this solitary spot. It has for its object to draw away from the Tagus part of its waters. The arm of this river, thus turned from its bed flows into a deep artificial channel and proceeds to refresh some of the plantations of Aranjuez, and provide for the wants of its inhabitants. But the shade and the verdure suddenly cease, and nothing is to be seen but the bare hills surrounding the valley, and which art concealed from the view in order to prevent the frame from spoiling the effect of the picture. At the foot of these hills are the king's stables, where the breed of Spanish horses still keeps up its ancient beauty. The passage of the Latin poet, *Vento gravidas ex prole putares*, serves for an inscription for this building, for which it seems to have been expressly composed.

The king attaches much importance to the prosperity of the stud at Aranjuez; the embarrassments of the war however suspended the care which this establishment requires. But in 1796, a council was appointed exclusively for this purpose, under the title of Supreme Junta of Equitation. The stud at Aranjuez contains at present, about four hundred mares and twenty stallions. Besides these, the Prince of the Peace, who is particularly fond of every thing connected with the cavalry, keeps here, on his own account, 18 stallions and 150 mares. Aranjuez has also a stud of mules, for the court is not inclined to dispense entirely with these animals, ignoble perhaps, but yet serviceable, and which have also their particular description of beauty. Under the same roof with the stallions, eight male asses are kept, and 300 beautiful mares are exclusively set apart for them.

Leaving these stables upon our left, we enter upon the great alleys leading into the *Calle de la Reyna*.

The trees we have mentioned, are not the only embellishments of this valley. Upon the right hand, it is bordered with shrubs and underwood, which render its regularity more pleasing. Here, during the reign of Charles III. peaceably bounded the numerous herds of deer, against which his successor has declared war.

But the chief decoration of the *Calle de la Reyna*, is the garden of *Primavera*, or of spring. Under Charles III. it extended only a thousand paces along one side of the *Calle de la Reyna*. Charles IV. carried it forward along the whole of this alley to the banks of the Tagus.

Nothing can be more delightful than this garden during the season from which it derives its name. It is here that the fertility of the valley appears in all its luxuriance; nor are the useful articles of cultivation neglected. Fruits, flowers, and vegetables of every description prosper here. Clumps of trees oppose their hospitable shade against the heat of the noon-day sun. Odoriferous shrubs perfume the morning gale, and the balmy vapours they exhale, descend again at sun-set, to heighten the charms of the evening promenades! It is only twenty years, since the whole ground between the enclosure of the garden of the *Primavera* and the banks of the Tagus, was uncultivated and overrun with weeds. The present king, when prince of the Asturias, took possession of it, and converted it into one of the most agreeable spots in the whole valley. Verdant lawns, shrubs, and parterres have supplanted useless trees; serpentine walks lead through these new treasures of vegetation. From one spring to the other, we see a vast

blooming garden displaying an infinite variety of forms, as well as of productions. A small dock-yard has been preserved in this enclosure, and communicates with the Tagus by a gentle slope. Here ship-building is carried on in miniature, and this little navy has its carpenters and sailors. Further on is a kind of harbour, defended by a battery adapted to the situation. Some gondolas are anchored under its protection, and small frigates elegantly decorated, which return the salutes of the artillery in the harbour. The noise of these discharges, the cries of the sailors occupied in manœuvring the vessels, and the sight of the streamers and flags floating in the wind, excite an idea that we are present at the games of Mars and Neptune. Happy, indeed, would it be for mankind if they confined themselves to these imitations; if avarice, and the mad love of glory, had not converted into instruments of destruction those properties of the elements which nature perhaps intended only for their pleasure!

Aranjuez affords every kind of entertainment to be found at a country retreat: hunting, fishing, walking and riding. No where can it be more delightful, to enjoy the pleasure of wandering either with book in hand among the shrubberies, or of riding on horseback or in a carriage through the alleys, which

extend farther than the eye can reach. Formerly, deer and even wild boars were seen peaceably walking in the streets, and you would have taken them for domestic animals. Buffaloes, brought from Naples, perform the office of beasts of burden. I have also seen a few robust camels patiently submit to laborious drudgery at Aranjuez, but they were not long able to resist the influence of a foreign climate. At the same period two zebras, and two guanacos,* were to be seen sporting as if in their native country, in a meadow contiguous to the road, while an elephant, with his unwieldy form stalked peaceably along, amidst the curious spectators who thronged to behold him. It is thus that sovereigns should expose openly to view the foreign animals which they keep locked up in their menageries, with the exception of those whose ferocity might render them dangerous if unchained.† These magnificent prisons, the

* *Camelus Llamia Sylvestris*. Peruvian sheep.

† This has been realized for several years in the Garden of Plants at Paris, where several foreign animals, enjoying a kind of liberty and the light of day, display the peculiarities of their natures, and satisfy the public curiosity without any danger. Under a climate so temperate as that of Spain, a similar establishment might be extended to a greater number of quadrupeds imported from the warmer regions of the Spanish colonies, and would evince, in a manner worthy of their magnificence, the patronage afforded to the sciences and particularly within the last thirty years, to natural history by the Spanish monarchs.

master-pieces of cruelty, still more than of luxury, evince the tyranny of man, without proving his power. The kings of Spain have not at least to reproach themselves with this revolting magnificence. They have in their gardens at Buen Retiro, some lions shut up in small buiklings, from which we sometimes hear their hoarse and menacing roar. They have a fine pheasant walk in the interior of the gardens of St. Ildefonso, but no where have they any thing like a real menagerie.

The horses at Aranjuez contribute to its embellishment in a particular manner. It is here that they develope all the beauty of their movements and all their velocity. It is here that the king in person exercises the fine horses furnished by his stud. Formerly the *Culle de la Réyna* was the course where the race horses exhibited their swiftness in presence of the court, the different branches of which betted keenly upon the powers of these animals. The present king, when Prince of Asturias, substituted, in place of races, a kind of spectacle called the *Parejas*. He formed a squadron of four in front and twelve deep. The four files were directed by himself, the two infants his his brothers, and one of the most distinguished persons of his court, and each had a particular colour. The forty-eight horsemen were clothed

in the genuine Spanish costume, which gave an antique military appearance to the spectacle, and seemed to recal the tournaments of their ancestors. They proceeded in columns to one of the great courts of the castle, to the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, and preceded by elegantly dressed grooms leading spare horses richly caparisoned. Here they would break their ranks, separate and form again; sometimes galloping round the circumference of the court, at others crossing diagonally, they displayed their skill in horsemanship and the beauty of their rich caparisons. This cold and feeble image of the ancient tournaments, recalled them in a slight degree to the recollection of the spectators; but made them regret those festivals at which, in presence of princes and the fair, the ancient chevaliers obeyed the double impulse of love and glory; festivals where the applause of those who reigned over their hearts was the inestimable prize of their address and courage. Accordingly the most devoted of the courtiers received no kind of pleasure from this *Ball of Centaurs*, except they were permitted to take part in it with the sons of their sovereign, and to contribute to their pleasures.

The king has for some years laid aside these amusements at Aranjuez, and has sub-

stituted others in their place still more agreeable to his own taste. One of those which he is fondest of, is to make experiments with artillery in the *Huerta de Valencia*; the noise of which disturbs the tranquillity of this charming residence much oftener than pleases the softer sex, or those who partake of similar feelings.

But he takes the greatest pleasure in embellishing his garden, which is partly bounded by the Tagus. Within it has been formed a small lake, out of which rises a *kiosk*, a small Greek temple, a heap of rude stones, or, if you please, a rock, surmounted with a marble statue of Apollo. Near it is a Chinese bark, prepared for the navigation of this lake in miniature; exhibiting an incongruous assemblage of objects which, notwithstanding a profusion of ornaments, have but a mean appearance. But nature has done so much for this spot; flowers and exotic plants are so profusely scattered; foreign trees remarkable for their beauty or singularity, and particularly the long alleys of weeping willows and of catalpas, have succeeded so well, and afford such a refreshing shade; there are so many fertilizing streams, such varieties of situation, although upon an entirely plain surface, that the garden of Aranjuez certainly forms one of the most agreeable

promenades in Europe. I owe it this homage in gratitude for the delicious hours I have spent under the shade of its bowers; for while wandering among the beds of flowers and lawns of Aranjuez, I have frequently enjoyed amidst the vegetable treasures of both hemispheres the sweetest recreation from the solitudes of an arduous negotiation.

The palace and other buildings at Aranjuez are handsome, but not magnificent. The royal apartments contained few pictures of any value during the reign of Charles III. They have been lately enriched, however, with the spoils of St. Ildefonso, and now contain upwards of 400 pictures, among which are several by Guido, Guercino, Lanfranc, Poussin, &c. The chapel of the castle is new, and built in a good style, and the sculpture and gilding are distributed with taste and without profusion. It contains some pictures by Mengs, which contribute not a little to its decoration.

There are, besides, three churches in the *Sitio* of Aranjuez: the most modern belongs to a convent of Franciscans, called the Church of San Pascual, founded by the confessor to Charles III. in the highest part of the *Sitio*. We read upon the walls of the vestibule of this convent some pious stanzas in the most oracular style. Opposite the church is a royal hospital, excel-

lently situated, and worthy of being held up as an example, for the relief it affords to every description of disease.

Sickness is common at Aranjuez, although it is so delightful a residence in other respects. While the temperature is here moderate, every thing is enchanting to the senses, and we relish the happiness of existence. But when the dog-days approach, when the hot air stagnated in the valley is loaded with the exhalations of a muddy and sluggish river, and with the nitrous vapours taken up by the sun from the hills between which the Tagus flows, then is this vale of Tempe pregnant with disease and death.

Every person then removes from Aranjuez, seeking a more wholesome atmosphere upon the neighbouring heights, and particularly in the little town of *Ocaña*. Aranjuez, which, during May and June, was the rendezvous of all who were eager for pleasure and for health, containing a population of 10,000 souls, now becomes as it were a desert, where only those remain who are prevented from leaving it either by their avocations or their poverty.

Formerly the king did not visit Aranjuez until after Easter, and remained there till the end of June. The new court, preferring Aran-

juez to all the other palaces, repairs hither in the beginning of January.

Aranjuez is upon the road from Madrid to Cadiz. I shall now proceed thither with my readers.

CHAP. IV.

*Road from Aranjuez to Cadiz. La Mancha.
Colonies of the Sierra Morena. Baylen. An-
dusar. Cordova. Kingdom of Granada.*

It is only since 1785, that a post-chaise could travel from Madrid to Cadiz, this way of travelling being formerly entirely unknown in Spain, except upon the roads between the capital and the royal country residences.*

Two leagues from Aranjuez, we first come to the small town of Ocaña, remarkable for its riding school for cavalry, which has prospered for several years past, under the auspices of General Ricardos.

* Within these few years, people have travelled post in Spain in several directions, particularly between Madrid and Cadiz, in small chaises, furnished by the establishment of the general post-office; but the custom of travelling short journies in *coches de colleras*, with six mules, or in *calesines*, with two, also prevails very generally. One may travel still more economically upon a mule, the owner of which follows, or precedes it, on foot; or with messengers, called *ordinarios*, who at stated times travel from one great city to another. But there is not any stage coach, properly so called, throughout all Spain, that from Bayonne to Madrid not having been re-established.

On leaving Ocaña, the view extends over a vast and perfectly level plain, the first specimen of La Mancha. We arrive at *Guardia*, which, with the exception of the church, seems a vast heap of ruins; then at *Tembleque*, a town with 1500 houses, and not without appearances of industry. A little saltpetre is procured from the country around it; but this is no embellishment to the place. *Tembleque* has a very fine promenade, an object that cannot be too highly prized in the arid plains of La Mancha.

The next stage is a solitary house, called *Cañada de la Higuera*, the most wretched inn on the road.

Two leagues further is *Madridejos*, a fine village, on leaving which we are agreeably surprised to find, in the midst of plains totally stript of verdure, an alley of white elms, and some clusters of trees, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.

After traversing three leagues of an uniform and unvaried country, we arrive at *Puertolapiche*, a small village, at the foot of two hills, near which Don Quixote armed himself, on entering upon his career.

At *Villalta* are manufactures of coarse cottons. Before we reach this place, we cross a long narrow stone bridge, on each side of which is a large fen, covered with plants peculiar to marshy situations. This is the river

Guadiana, which at some distance, suddenly hides its sluggish waters under ground, afterwards re-appears at a place called *los ojos de Guadiana*, passes through Estramadura and part of Portugal, and empties itself into the sea, forming the boundary between that country and Spain.

Five long leagues intervene between Villalta and *Mançanares*, one of the largest towns in La Mancha, where the carbineers have one of their principal quarters, and where the abundance which they diffuse through the district is counterbalanced by their violations of the rights of hospitality at the expense of morals.

The wine in the neighbourhood of *Mançanares* is very little inferior to that of *Val-de-penas*, another town five leagues distant. There are two kinds of wine produced here; the first is of a fine deep ruby colour; it is stronger and much richer than any of our French wines, if we except those of Roussillon and the banks of the Rhone; but there is scarcely a drop of Spanish wine which has not a taste of pitch, contracted from the casks. White wine is not so frequently to be seen as red. The former resembles champagne in colour, but it has a little tartness. It is exported to England and America, but the red is almost entirely consumed in the country.

Santa Cruz, two leagues beyond *Mançanares*,

is the chief town in the domains of the Spanish grandee of that name.* We next find the small village of Almoradiel, where the immense plains of La Mancha terminate towards the south.

There is not perhaps in all Europe, a country more uniform than the twenty-two tedious leagues between Tembleque and Almoradiel; and nothing can be more monotonous than the view of such a dreary horizon. In two, and sometimes three hours, not a single human dwelling appears to relieve the eye; our view extends without interruption over immense plains, the vegetation of which has a gloomy appearance, more from the heat of the sun than the nature of the soil. Some thinly-scattered olive plantations occasionally interrupt this tedious uniformity.

* The last Marquis de Santa Cruz was often mentioned as a nobleman who managed his extensive estates with more sagacity than usually falls to the lot of a grandee. The esteem in which he was held, joined to his exalted birth, raised him to the most distinguished stations, in various departments. When he died, some years ago, he was President of the Academy for improving the Spanish language, Grand Master of the King's household, and tutor to the Prince of Asturias. Charles III. on appointing him to the second of these posts, said to him "you manage your household so well, that I am determined to place mine under your direction." Favours thus granted, confer as much honour on the giver as the receiver.

This sameness however, does not prevail throughout the whole of the province. To the westward of Tembleque and Madrideojos it has some extensive vallies of a more lively appearance than the plains we have described. Charles the Third usually visited *Yevenes*, a village twelve leagues from Aranjuez, once in two years, to enjoy the amusements of the chase. It commands a beautiful and spacious valley profusely embellished with olive plantations, and on the opposite side of which the old castle of Consuegra rises from the top of a chain of hills. The town of that name is at the bottom of the eminence on which the castle stands, and has 1500 houses. It belongs to the grand priory of Malta, once held by the Infant Don Gabriel. This prince will be long regretted in Spain; he patronized the arts and loved his country; and to embellish the environs of Consuegra was his chief delight.

La Mancha, so famous for its wines, and still more celebrated for the exploits of Don Quixotte, whose historian has displayed equal fidelity as a topographer, and a painter of the manners of this part of Spain, contains several places still more remarkable than those described by Cervantes. *Ciudad Real* is the capital. It was formerly the chief place of the ancient *Santa Hermandad* (the holy fraternity) prior to the reign of King St. Ferdinand, whose

object was to clear the country of the robbers that infested it. At present it has to boast of a charitable institution, originating in the humanity of the last Archbishop of Toledo, and which he erected for the inhabitants of his diocese in La Mancha. This is a magnificent edifice, and in 1792 upwards of two millions of reals had been expended in building it. *Almagro*, another town with 3000 inhabitants, is situated in the middle of an extensive plain, four leagues from Santa Cruz. From the latter place to Almagro, we pass through an entirely desert country, chiefly used as pasturage.

But to return to the route to Cadiz. On leaving Almoradiel, we approach the Sierra Morena. Twenty-seven years ago, the district upon which we are about to enter, was the terror of travellers, and when passing through it, they generally proceeded westward to the chain of mountains, known by the name of the Sierra Morena, or Black Forest. After having passed the town of *Viso*, they ascended the Sierra Morena at the risk of their lives, over one of its most rugged and uneven precipices, called *Puerto del Rey*. Le Maur, a Frenchman, and long attached to the corps of engineers in Spain, was chosen by Count Florida Blanca, in 1779, to endeavour to render practicable a road more frequented than any in the kingdom. In spite of the difficulties presented by

the ground, Le Maur constructed one of the finest high roads in Europe. This he accomplished by means of bridges and masonry with which he faced the declivities on the one hand, while on the other, he erected walls breast high; feeble ramparts it is true, but which enable the traveller to roll along the brink of precipices without danger and without apprehension. Such is the nature of the road until we arrive at *Despeñaperros*, a spot where the rocks approach so close as to form a kind of arch over the heads of the passengers. At the bottom of the valley runs a stream, the waters of which were intended to feed a canal projected by Le Maur. A little further on, we find the stage of *las Correderas*, a cluster of cottages in the midst of the mountains.

We thence ascend without difficulty to *La Carolina*, a quite modern town, and the chief place of the colonies of the Sierra Morena. The flourishing state into which they were brought by Don Pablo Olavide did not long continue after his disgrace. The moderate sums allotted for their support were not punctually paid. Their zeal slackened, and their operations were interrupted: besides this, the ministers were too hasty in exacting taxes from the new colonists, in order to shew the court that this establishment was capable in the course of a few years to indemnify it for the sums which it had advanced. So many dis-

couragements gave a check to agriculture, and even had the effect of causing several families to emigrate. In 1785, however, there were 5044 persons in this small capital and the adjoining hamlets. The German colonists, who abounded at first, have mostly disappeared. Those who remained were gradually amalgamated with the Spanish natives, and for these twelve years past there has not been a priest here who spoke the German language. Of late, however, this interesting colony, a striking example of what a government may effect when sincere in its wishes to do good, has again begun to justify the encouragement bestowed upon it. The merit of such a creation cannot be fully appreciated but by those who have beheld this district in its state of depopulation and sterility. And yet here, as well as in other countries, intrigue and envy have partly rendered abortive, the exertions of genius and the wishes of benevolence.

After leaving la Carolina, we next come to Guaroman a town built at the same period, and the inhabitants of which continue to prosper.

We leave the Sierra Morena on descending to Baylen, an ancient town the territory of which still contains one of the fine breeds of Andalusian horses.

A league beyond Baylen, we observe, on the left, a large inn (*Venta*) begun by M. Olavide,

but given up at the time of his disgrace, as if involved in the same anathema with its founder.

We afterwards cross, by a stone bridge, the Rumber, which half a league further falls into the Guadalquivir. From the Casa del Rey, an inn standing by itself in the midst of the woods, we begin to discern this river, which we reach shortly before we arrive at *Anduxar*.

Jaen, the bishop of which was several years grand inquisitor, and which is the capital of one of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, is six leagues from *Anduxar*. At *Jaen*, we find various Roman inscriptions, which are a proof of its antiquity. The country between these two cities is extremely fertile in seasons which are not too dry.

Anduxar, is one of the richest and most ancient cities in Spain; but the unwholesome situation exposes the inhabitants to diseases, for which they might find remedies at their feet, in the abundant and spontaneous productions of the vegetable kingdom. As rich internally, as on its surface, the whole territory of *Anduxar* abounds with metals, minerals, marbles, rock-crystal, &c. The immediate environs are pleasant, and bespeak the vicinity of a river. The Guadalquivir flows at some distance from the walls, and it has been long in contemplation to render it navigable; but it would previously be necessary to remove

three mills which obstruct the stream throughout its whole breadth.

A stage of three leagues and a half conducts us from Anduxar to *Aldea del Rio*, a large village upon an eminence on the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Four leagues further on, we find *El Carpio*, a town with about 1500 inhabitants, upon the left bank of the Guadalquivir. Before we reach it we discover from the road the handsome town of *Bujalance*, situated in the centre of an extensive plain, rich in vines, corn, and olives.

El Carpio is five leagues distant from Cordova; half of the road passes through a country naked but not steril. When nearly half way we cross the Guadalquivir at *las Ventas de Alcolea*, by a bridge which is one of the finest works in this new road. Thence to Cordova, we have the Guadalquivir on our left, and the back of the Sierra Morena on our right. This long chain of wooded mountains (which we never lose sight of until we enter Andalusia) affords some relief to the absolute nakedness of the country. We are however in the heart of that Betica, so celebrated by the ancients and which the luxuriant pencil of Fenelon has represented in such enchanting colours as the abode of felicity and abundance. Modern Betica might be so still; but, notwithstanding the most genial

climate and the most luxuriant productions of nature, it now only excites our regret.

Cordova, on the side towards Madrid, has nothing of importance ; but on the Cadiz side it forms a gently-sloping and semicircular amphitheatre along the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Although the native city of the two Senecas and of Lucan, of Averroes and several learned Arabians, and of the great general *Gonzalvo de Cordova*, there is at present nothing remarkable here, except the cathedral, one of the most curious monuments in Europe. It was formerly a mosque, begun by the Moorish king Abderama, who from a wish to make it the chief temple of the Mahometans next to that of Mecca, displayed here an unusual degree of magnificence. It is 29 naves in its length, and 19 in breadth, supported by more than a thousand columns, including one hundred, which form the inner enclosure of the cupola. The eye surveys with astonishment, a forest of columns, perhaps unexampled in the world. They are of various coloured marbles, or of jasper, but a little tarnished by time. The whole edifice, which on the outside appears a massy and shapeless building, occupies an area of 620 feet in length, and 440 in breadth. Throughout part of its length extends a large court-yard, at the bottom of which there is a capacious arched cistern.

The court is dismal, planted with trees, and particularly with orange trees, whose aged branches and tufted foliage afford an asylum to a multitude of birds, and cover with their shade several fountains which maintain a perpetual coolness around.

After the conquest of Cordova, in 1236, St. Ferdinand converted this mosque into a cathedral, and it preserved its ancient form until the time of Charles the Fifth.* At this and subsequent periods, it underwent several changes and received many additions. On the two sides of one of its sixteen doors are placed two mile-stones, dug up within the cathedral in 1532.

Besides this building and a collegiate church, Cordova has fifteen parish churches, forty convents, and a great number of pious foundations. Ought we to look elsewhere for the causes of its depopulation and misery? Enjoying the finest climate in the world, in the midst of so many sources of prosperity, it now scarcely contains thirty-five thousand souls. Once celebrated for manufactures of silks, linens, &c. Cordova has now no other branches of industry to boast of than some trifling manufactures of

* In the atlas belonging to this work will be found two plans (Pl. xxvi & xxvii) of the cathedral of Cordova, the former representing it as it was in the time of the Moors, and the other as it is at present.

ribbands, lace, hats, and baize. The adjacent country is extremely fertile in corn and olives, but in other respects it is one of the most naked districts in all Spain. Travellers should not quit Cordova; however, without visiting the royal stud of horses, which is the finest and best regulated in Andalusia: the stables contained in 1792 six hundred and twelve horses of all ages, among which were twenty-one stallions.

The kingdom of Cordova adjoins that of Grenada, and in travelling from one capital to the other, we pass over a great part of the territory of Cordova. The most remarkable places on this road are *Fernan-Nunnez*, whence one of the late ambassadors from Spain to France, took his name, and where he founded some useful establishments; *Montilla*, the country around which produces an excellent wine, little known out of Spain, but much esteemed by connoisseurs; *Baena*, a town containing 1000 houses; *Alcala la Real*, situated on an eminence, and peopled with 8 or 9000 inhabitants; lastly, *Pinos de la Puente*, at the entrance of the magnificent plain of Grenada.

Never was there a country so worthy of the attention of travellers, and where nature is at once so sublime and beautiful: here we find the most picturesque situations, high mountains, with their tops at all seasons covered

with snow; fertile valleys, where coolness reigns unaltered, even by the heat of the dog-days; torrents of limpid water tumbling from the rocks, and fertilizing the plains without overflowing them; here, under the united influence of a burning sun and natural moisture, the most delicious fruits of every climate are produced, while plants of either hemisphere seem equally indigenous in this happy soil; here we may see the hemp of the northern regions flourishing under the shade of olives and chesnuts.

Never did I visit this ancient city, which retains, in all their pristine beauty, the magnificent monuments of the Arabs, and where every thing brings to recollection an active and industrious people, whose expulsion was the chief cause of the downfall of the arts in Spain. But I shall supply the want of my own observations by introducing those of one of my friends, now no more, (M. Peyron) in his *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne*, published in 1782. I shall here insert his description slightly abridged.

“Grenada, (Tom. I. p. 57,) is situated at the foot of the Siera Nevada; it is built upon two eminences, separated by the Darro. The Xenil bathes its walls; both these streams are formed by the melting of the snows with which the Sierra is always covered. Some authors give Grenada the epithet of illustrious and celebrated; while others assert that it is still the

largest city in Spain. The plain in which it stands, is a terrestrial paradise. We see nothing but enchanting scenes around us, but they are so much neglected, nature is left so completely to herself, that her admirers sigh at every step, lamenting how little the inhabitants have profited by the excellent opportunities presented them for embellishment and delight.

“It is said that the Moors regret none of their misfortunes in Spain so much as the loss of Grenada. They mention it every Friday, in their evening prayers, and beseech heaven to restore it to the faithful. The last Moorish ambassador, who was in Spain, obtained permission from the king to visit Grenada. He wept upon entering the Alhambra, (which will be presently described), and exclaimed: *‘My ancestors lost this delicious country very foolishly!’*

“Grenada had formerly twenty gates. A few of these only are now entire, but the ruins of all the rest still exist.

“The Moors have left more monuments at Grenada, than at any other place in Spain. It may be observed of the prodigious quantity of inscriptions preserved in this city and its environs, and of the fine buildings, the *Alhambra* and the *Generalif*,* that they wished to make

* In the atlas will be found reduced plans of the most remarkable parts of these Moorish monuments. They were copied from those ordered to be engraved by the court of Spain, in 1780.

Grenada the seat of their religion, customs, manners, and magnificence. There is not a wall in the whole city upon which are not engraven traces of their dominion; but notwithstanding the abundance of these monuments, the history of the Moorish empire, in Spain, is still confused and obscure. The ignorance of the Spaniards, their superstition, and the hatred they bear to the Moors, have contributed much towards their obscurity. They have destroyed, or allowed time to destroy every thing bearing the character of Mahometanism, instead of preserving monuments of antiquity, which were at the same time monuments of their own glory; and it may be added, that accident alone, and the durability of their materials have preserved those which yet remain, but which are daily decaying. We must do justice, however, to the civil magistrates of Grenada. Several years ago they ordered faithful copies and translations to be made of all the Arabic inscriptions in the city, and these documents were deposited among the public archives.

“ I shall first describe the monuments within the city. That which is most highly extolled is the building erected by Abi-Abdali, about the year 1376 of our era, and which bears the name of the Mint, although it seems to have been an hospital, if we may judge from the following inscription:

'Praise be to God: this hospital, the asylum of mercy, was built for the poor sick Moors, as a work the piety and utility of which language cannot praise too much. It is intended to serve as a monument of the faith and charity of its founder; and he will have his reward, when God shall inherit the earth, and all that is in it. This founder is the great, the renowned, the virtuous Abi- Abdallah Mahomed; may God prosper this zealous king, this friend, this benefactor of his people, who employs his ministers only for the glory of the faithful and of God; this courageous prince, this propagator of pious works, this favorite of angels, this pure soul, the protector of the laws and of morality; this worthy emperor of the Moors, may he prosper in God! He is the Son of our Lord, the just, high, and mighty king, the conqueror, the fortunate, the pious governor of the Moors, Abi-Alguali, destroyer of those who assign companions to God; son of Mazar, the privileged, fortunate in his works, and in every thing which is resolved in the decrees of God for his service and with him. He began this building the instant the Moorish nation became masters of the city, and he thus laid up for himself a store of merits: he filled up his measure with alms and with good works, and all his intentions were directed in the presence of God. It is God who inspires good thoughts and who imparted to him the light, in order that it might be

communicated to those who should come after him; and in that day, when wealth and ancestry will be of no avail, and when nothing will remain to us but what God in his compassionate heart shall have given us. The commencement of the building of this hospital took place in the ten days of the middle of the month Moharram, in the year 777, and he finished his ideas in the completion of this work, in the ten days of the middle of Xaguel, in the year 778. May God never destroy the pious work of the founders; nor allow to go unrewarded the meritorious deeds of these illustrious persons. May God be always with Mahomet and his adherents.'

"This house is now inhabited by a private individual. In the first court we find a beautiful reservoir and two marble lions, coarsely sculptured, which eject the water that fills it. The pompous and prolix inscription we have now read is the most remarkable thing connected with this building.

"The principal front of the cathedral is noble and simple. The dedication and the date of its building are placed over the small gate opening to the street in which the prison stands. Above are two well-executed figures, representing Faith and Justice, with a Latin inscription not worth copying.

"It is said that the architect wished to

form his church after the model of the human body. The principal chapel is the head; the breast and stomach are represented by the middle nave; the two lateral naves are, without doubt, the arms; and the rest of the church, with the choir, form the feet. I confess that on visiting this magnificent church, I did not perceive the architect's intention. The dome over the high altar is supported by twenty-two grand Corinthian columns. The whole length of the church is four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth is only two hundred and forty-nine; a striking disproportion, arising from the desire of including the chapel royal and the parish church or *Sagario* within the cathedral; being three churches under one roof.

“The palace of the chancery (*Cancellaria*),* has a front uniting elegance with majesty; but the interior does not correspond.

“Close to the square in which this palace is situated, we find the gate called the *Alhambra Gate*. It leads to a delightful promenade, formed by several winding rural alleys. Here we see water gushing on all sides, and precipitated from the moss-covered rocks, upon which

* Or supreme tribunal. There are two which bear this name in Spain, the chancery of Grenada and the chancery of Valladolid. See Vol. I. on the subject of the courts of justice in Spain.

the *Alhambra* is built; all is verdant and picturesque on this delicious spot. We arrive at a fountain erected in the reign of Charles the Fifth; it is ornamented with imperial eagles, and bears this simple inscription:

CÆSARI IMPERATORI CAROLO V.
HISPANIARUM REGI.

“Four bas-reliefs, well executed but corroded by time, accompany this inscription. In a few years they will be obliterated; the stones used for them being so soft that the ravages of the atmosphere are daily more apparent.

“A few paces from the fountain is the principal entrance to the palace of the Alhambra: * this gate, which is now called the Guard Gate, in consequence of some invalids standing sentry at it, is a very strong tower, having an Arabic inscription, above which an image of the Virgin has been placed.

“The following is a translation of the inscription:

“*This gate, called the Judgment, or Tribunal Gate, (may God make it fortunate as well as the Moorish nation, and perpetuate it to the end of time,) was built by our lord the emperor and king of the Moors,*

* See Plate XX. in the Atlas.

Joseph Abulbaggeh, son of the king, the just warrior, Abigualid, son of Nazar; God grant a happy end to his works for the good of the Musulman people, and may he bless the edifice erected for their defence! It was finished in the month of Maulen-Almnadan, seven hundred and forty-nine, (the 4th of April, 1338, of our era). May God render it stable upon its foundations, and perpetuate the era of its building in the memory of men.

“This gate was built to serve as a tribunal, after the manner of the Arabians and Hebrews, who held their courts of justice at the gates of their cities; and this ancient Asiatic custom gives the distinguishing name of the *Porte* to the court of the Grand Seignior.

“On each side of the above inscription is a block of marble, upon which we read in Arabic:

“Praise be to God! there is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet; there is no strength without God.”

“Over the inscription is a key and an extended hand: these are two important symbols in the Musulman religion. The Koran frequently mentions the almighty *hand* of God, which leads believers into the right way; and of the *key* of God, which opens to them the gates of the world and of religion. The key is nearly the same among the Mahometans, as the cross is with the Christians.

“The hand, which is seen by this key, had three mysterious significations among the Moors. In the first place, it designates Providence; secondly, it is the prototype, or rather the epitome of the law, because the law has five fundamental precepts, as the hand has five fingers; and each of these precepts has as many modifications as each of the fingers has joints. Finally, the Arabs, looking upon the hand as the symbol of their religion believed it to be a powerful defence against the enemies of the law, and that it could produce enchantments and miracles. Of this superstition we have an example in the principles of chiromancy, and to which perhaps the Spanish women of modern days do homage, by giving their children necklaces formed of small hands, carved in ebony or ivory.

“The first object that presents itself within the walls of the Alhambra, is the famous palace of Charles the Fifth, (Pl. XX. N° 1.) The architect who planned and who began it was the celebrated Alphonso Berruguetti. This palace was built with the money lent by the Moors to Charles the Fifth, in the expectation of procuring liberty of conscience in religious matters. The artful emperor received from them 1,600,000 ducats and gave them nothing in return but promises, which did not even put a stop to the infamous system of persecuting and

ransoming them upon pretence of effecting their conversion.

“The palace of Charles the Fifth was abandoned at his death. It is a perfect square, 220 feet each way; and is situated in an open space of great extent (Pl. XX. N° 6), from which we have a view of part of the city of Grenada and the adjacent country. A rotunda, formed by thirty-two columns of veined marble, and one hundred and twenty feet in diameter, occupies the centre. The south front is deserving of attention. The gate, ornaments, statues and bas-reliefs are of a grayish marble, from the quarries of *Avira*, a small town a few leagues from Grenada. The battles sculptured on the pedestals, as well as the war-like trophies, are the work of the Moors; this is proved by an Arabic inscription engraven upon some bucklers: “*God alone can conquer.*”

“Near the palace we see an old elm, which, if tradition is to be credited, was the throne of the Chief of the Mahometan religion, who gave his audiences, and interpreted obscure points in the law upon this spot.

“The first court of the Moorish palace, adjoining to that of Charles V, and known by the name of *Alhambra*, was called the *Mesuar* by the Moors, and is at present named the court of *los Array Janes*. It is paved with large flags of white marble, but one half of them

are broken and covered with grass and moss. In the centre is a kind of narrow basin extending nearly throughout the length of the court, which is a quadrangle much longer than it is broad. At the two extremities are four slender columns of the Gothic kind, which support a very fine gallery. The whole circumference is loaded with ornaments and arabesques, uniting together several Arabic characters which when joined form various inscriptions. Those most frequently repeated are the following :

“ God is the sovereign good, the universal support ; he is full of goodness and mercy towards compassionate hearts.

“ God alone is a conqueror.

Honour and happiness to our Lord Abd-Ailah.”

“ Above the two principal cornices, we see several well-executed wreaths of flowers, with Arabic characters forming the following inscription, which covers almost the whole of the wall at the entrance of the town of Comares :

“ Let God be exalted ! he has given thy nation a governor who has brought it to the pinnacle of its renown and glory. Oh, from how many and dreadful heresies has he delivered the people ! In his love he has guided them and left them to enjoy their inheritance ; but those who have shut their eyes against his light, he has reduced to slavery, and has made subservient to the good of his kingdom. With his

sharp sword and invincible courage he has subjected nations and conquered provinces. Thou *NAZAR* hast performed exploits hitherto unheard of. Thou hast penetrated and taken possession of twenty renowned cities. Thou hast obtained not only the victory but also immense wealth with which thou cheeredst thy brethren and thy people. - If they know how to direct their prayers when their souls are filled with pious fervour, they will beseech the great, the sublime and the only God to bestow on thee length of days, and stability and prosperity on thy dominions. O, *NAZAR*, although born in the midst of grandeur, thou shinest by thine own lustre like a star in the firmament; thou art our fortress, our support, and our avenging arm; thou governest us like a torch, which dispels the darkness from before us; the stars fear thee in their course. The great luminary of heaven sheds his beams upon thee with awe and the loftiest tree becomes still greater by humbling itself before thee."

"Upon the gate of the same building, we see the following inscription within a circle.

"If thou admirest my beauty without thinking of God, who is the author of all things, be warned by me that it is folly, since thou mayest turn thy admiration to thine advantage, and God may take away thy life whenever he thinks fit. All ye who contemplate this marble of such exquisite workmanship and beauty, take care of and defend it; and in order that it may be stable, protect it with your five fingers and with your hands!"

“ This inscription seems to indicate that a statue, a basso-relievo, or some valuable marble, was formerly placed over this gate.

“ The tower of Comares (Plate XX. No. 3.) was thus named, we are told, from the Moorish architect, by whom it was erected. When the building was finished, he took its dimensions, and upon measuring it again the year following, he found that it had sunk three feet. It is the highest, the largest, and most magnificent tower in the Alhambra.

“ The door-way of the principal hall in this tower is an arch in a good style, embellished with flowers and arabesques in stucco. They were blue and gold, but few vestiges of the gilding are now to be seen. On either side of the door is a small niche, where persons on entering left their slippers. This hall is remarkable for the height and boldness of its arched ceiling, for the ornaments and inscriptions with which it is decorated, and for the magnificent prospect which it commands. The Darro winds around the foot of the edifice. From this place you have a view of great part of the city, of the beautiful verdant mountains that rise above it, and of the charming hill which forms its base. The tower of Comares is one hundred and forty-two feet high.

“ The walls of the hall and the cornice are covered with flowers and Arabic letters. On the

latter, the following words are several times repeated:

Celestial gaiety, gladness, and eternal felicity to those who believe.

“ These cornices, or borders, were undoubtedly cast in a mould, upon which were engraved the words that were designed to appear; hence almost all the borders round the windows and doors exhibit a continual repetition of the same sentence.

“ The inscription placed round the closet to the left of the entrance is to the following effect:

Remember that all the kings who have gone before and who exist in this palace, do justice to Abu-Nazar and glory in him: he is endued with such majesty, that were he to be placed in the firmament, he would eclipse the planets and the signs of the zodiac. His look strikes terror into the soul of kings; but without violence he draws them to him; for, this majestic look was always accompanied with magnanimity and benevolence, and he protected them by his glory alone. He subjected not only the Arabian and Andalusian monarchs, but all the sovereigns of the earth.

“ This Abu-Nazar is doubtless the celebrated Miramolin, who reigned in Africa, and in whose name the conquest of Spain was achieved.

“ The other closet has likewise an inscription, the sense of which it is very difficult to

“ The moulding of the principal door contains the following words :

By the sun and his splendour, by the moon which shares it, by the day when it appears in all its pomp, by the night which enshrouds its beauties, by the heavens and the being who created them, by the earth and him who gave it existence, by the soul and him by whom it was predestined, there is no God but God !

“ On the sides of the entrance are two short inscriptions. That on the right runs thus :

My peace is with God ; to him I am attached ; I have placed myself under his guidance.

“ On the left is the following :

There is no true grandeur but in God, the great and just judge.

“ The small niches in which the slippers were put, have also their maxims.

God is our strength in tribulations. The nourishment which our food contains is derived from God.

“ Round the niches we read :

Glory and duration to our king Abulgagbegh, king of the Moors ; may God guide his steps, and give lustre to his empire.

“ And above are thrice repeated the words :
Praise be to God !

“ In visiting this abode of magnificence, the spectator is surprised at the mixture of architecture and poetry which he meets with at every step. This palace might justly be deno-

minated, a collection of fugitive pieces. I have a few more to transcribe, and if the simplicity of the early ages; if ideas, sometimes sublime, though expressed in language rather inflated; if manners differing from ours and impressed with the seal of many ages, are capable of exciting the curiosity of my readers, they will pardon me for entering into the minute details which I have thought fit to introduce, and they will share the regret I feel on account of my inability to clothe these flowers of the imagination of a valiant and voluptuous people with their native grace and beauty.

“ On the outside of the window to the right of the hall is this inscription:

Praise be to God, because my beauty gives life to this palace; and with the circle which crowns me, I attain the height of the most lofty plants. My bosom contains springs of pure water; I embellish these prospects, delightful of themselves; those who inhabit me are powerful and God protects me. I have perpetuated the memory of the laudable actions of those who believe in God, and whom he calls to himself. The liberal hand of Abulghagegh adorned my contours. It is a moon at the full, the resplendence of which dispels the darkness of the heavens, and is diffused at the same time over the whole surface of the earth.

“ The characters on the inside of the same window signify :

Praise be to God alone, who, with his five mighty fingers, removes every thing that can injure Juseph, and say with me, that God protects us from the effects of his wrath. Praise be to God! let thanks be given to him!

“ On the other window is inscribed:

Praise be to God; my architect has raised me to the highest pitch of glory. I surpass the bridal bed in beauty, and am sufficient to afford a just idea of symmetry and of conjugal love. Him who comes to me with complaints upon his lips, I avenge without delay. I give myself up to those who wish for my table; I resemble the bow of heaven, and am adorned like it, with the colours of beauty. My light is Abulgaghegh, he who in the paths of the world, is ever watchful over the temple of God, who encourages the pilgrims and loads them with favours.

“ The inside of the window is occupied with the following words:

Praise be to God! Praise him who delivered Juseph from danger with the five precepts, and may God thus deliver me from his wrath. Praise be to God!

“ On leaving the hall of Comarès, you ascend a small modern stair-case of great simplicity: the old one, which corresponded with the beauty of the place, has been destroyed. You pass through a gallery part of which is enclosed with an iron grating. This kind of cage is called the *queen's prison*. Here, according to

report, was confined the wife of the last king of Grenada. The Gomels and the Zegrís, men of distinguished rank at court, falsely aspersed her virtue, and caused a great number of the Abencerrages, another powerful family in the kingdom of Grenada, of whom they were jealous, to be put to death. We are still shewn in the Alhambra, the hall of the court of lions, where thirty-five of them had already been beheaded, when a party being formed against their persecutors, and against the king himself, saved the rest of the family. The queen, on whom a cruel death was about to be inflicted, was delivered by the victory gained over her accusers by some christian knights, who undertook her vindication. The end of the Moorish monarchy in Spain very soon followed this conflict, the Abencerrages having, it is said, facilitated the conquest of Grenada by Ferdinand the Catholic.

“ But to return to the queen’s prison. The railing and the corridor have a modern appearance, in comparison of the rest of the palace. This gallery conducts to four apartments, built during the reign of Charles V. on a groundwork of Moorish construction. (Plate XX. No. 4.) Here are to be seen incessant repetitions of the following initials:—I. C. K. V. H. R. A. P. F. I. which signify: *Imperator Cæsar, Karolus V. Hispaniarum Rex Augustus, Pius,*

Felix, Invictus. The ceilings of these apartments are adorned with inlaid work. The finest specimen is that of the *fruit-room*, as it is called, where in several octagonal compartments fruits of every kind are painted with inimitable freshness of colour.

“ From these apartments, now empty, you proceed to the superb Belvedere, denominated the *queen's dressing room*. It is a closet six feet square, with a window on each side, surrounded with a balcony three feet broad, the roof of which is supported at intervals by columns of white marble. In one of the corners of this closet is a large square of marble, perforated with several holes, through which ran the fragrant essences and perfumes used by the Sultana. From the inscriptions which decorate this charming spot, some authors have maintained that it was the oratory of the palace, and a circumstance which seems to give weight to this opinion was, that the principal window fronted the east. The inscription upon the cornice which runs round it is as follows:

In the name of God, who is merciful! God be with our prophet Mahomet! Health and happiness to his friends! God is the light of heaven and of the earth, and his resplendence is like himself. It is a luminary with many branches and many lights, but producing only one general refulgence. It is the lamp of lamps, a brilliant constellation nourished with

eternal oil. It is neither western nor eastern; once illumined, it diffuses light for ever, without being touched, and with this light God guides those whom he loves; and he gives proverbs to nations.

“In the court of *Los Arrayanes*, is a vaulted hall, distinguished by the appellation of the *hall of secrecy*. It is constructed with great art. The quarter of a circle formed from the floor to the centre of the vault is about sixteen feet high. This hall, of an octagonal form, is built in such a manner, that a person placed at one of the angles, hears distinctly what is said even in a whisper, not only at the opposite angle, but even at any of the others to which he holds his ear. It is, however, to be feared, that this hall which is very damp, will, in a few years, be no longer in existence. (This was written in 1778.)

“The court most worthy of notice in the Alhambra, is that called the *Lions' Court*.^{*} It is paved with white marble, and adorned with sixty elegant columns, of an order of architecture totally different from all the orders that we are acquainted with, and which might be termed the Arabic order. At the two ends are two charming cupolas in Mosaic, painted with gold and blue, terminating in lanterns, and wrought in the same manner as the needles which decorate the fronts of Notre Dame at

* See Plate XXI. of the Atlas.

Paris, the cathedral of Rheims, and Westminster Abbey ; but the ornaments of these cupolas were much more delicate and highly finished ; and the brilliancy of the colours with which they were covered could not fail to add considerably to the beauty of their appearance. At the extremity of the court there is a kind of vault, or ceiling, where are preserved the portraits of some of the Moorish monarchs. The *Cicerone* does not forget to inform you that these paintings represent the history of the king Chico, who imprisoned his queen, accused of adultery. Close to it there is seen a cross painted on the wall : it marks the spot in which the first mass was celebrated after the conquest of Grenada by king Ferdinand the Catholic.

“ This magnificent court is surrounded with basins of white marble, which form a kind of cascade, adorned with fountains ; but its principal monument, that from which it derived its name, is an alabaster bowl, about six feet in diameter, supported by lions.* It was made, we are told, after the model of the brazen sea which Solomon placed in his temple. It is of a single piece, adorned with arabesques and an inscription ; but it is impossible to behold without regret so beautiful a piece of work-

* See Atlas, Plate XXII.

manship abandoned to the ravages of time and filth. The inscription consisting of twenty-four Arabic verses is to the following effect:

O thou who beholdest these lions fixed in their places, consider that they want nothing but life to be perfect: and thou who inheritest the kingdom and this palace, receive them from the hands of the nobles without making use of violence. May God preserve thee for the sake of the new work which thou hast performed in order to embellish me, and may thine enemy never revenge himself on thee. May the happiest praises dwell upon the lips which bless thee, O Mahomed our king, for thy soul is adorned with the most amiable virtues. God forbid that any thing in the world should surpass or equal this charming performance, the image of thine excellent qualities: but it is thou that embellishest it; it is limpid water that glistens in my bosom, and that bubbles up like molten silver. The whiteness of the stone, and that of the water which it contains are equal. Examine attentively this bowl, if thou wishest to distinguish the water; for it will appear at first sight, that both are liquid, or that both are solid. As a captive of love, whose face is bathed with the tears extorted by the envious, so the water appears jealous of the stone which holds it, and the bowl, in its turn seems to envy the crystal water; but nothing can be compared with that which issues from my bosom, and is projected bubbling into the air by the generous hand

“The walls of this court are covered with moulded figures, and short inscriptions very often repeated, which may be called the creed of Mahometans, such as : *There is no conqueror but God—I place my trust in God—Praise be to God for the welfare of the faithful, &c.*

“The Lions’ Court leads into three halls; the two principal are called *Las dos Hermanos*, or the Two Sisters, and the hall of the Abencerrages. The first has received this appellation from two pieces of white marble, above two yards long, which form part of the floor. The roof is of the same kind of workmanship, and we might almost say, of the same order of architecture, as the little cupolas in the court. It grows smaller by degrees, till it terminates in a point, and is covered with delicate work, which must have required not less patience than skill. On the cornice of the north wall is this inscription : *A long reign; the favour and assistance of God be with my master; there is no conqueror but God.*

“At the entrance of the hall is a short inscription to this effect :

Yonder garden gives thee life. The harmony which resounds in its thickets conspires with the perfumes of the flowers to enchant thy soul. And thou,

Charming vase, which embellishest it, thou shalt be compared with a king adorned with crowns and chains of gold.

“This inscription is a eulogy on the garden called Lindaraxa, which is overlooked from the windows of the hall; but it has lost its charms from the little care bestowed on it, though it is still adorned by its handsome fountain.

“In two circles to the right of the entrance of the same hall is the following inscription, which in my opinion is not remarkable either for elegance or poetic ideas:

I am an abode of pleasure, a compound of all possible charms; pleasure and the graces have made me their storehouse. No work can vie with me in beauty. A single look is sufficient to give a notion of my delights. A tranquil heart cannot find coolness more delicious than mine. I contain an exquisite alcove, the design and principles of which are pure. The sign of the twins may afford an idea of the perfect symmetry of my workmanship. The moon in the firmament likewise imparts to me considerable lustre; 'tis by means of her that the fair females belong to me. If the orb of day were to stand still in his course, to contemplate my charms, you ought not to be surprized at it. Simple apartment that I am, every thing that is beautiful may receive new attractions from me, and he who considers me may do it without fatigue; for I exhibit to him a seat of pleasure. I am likewise adorned with white pillars of great value, the

beholds it might say that light and colour are but one and the same.

“This window was in all probability composed of painted glass, which no longer exists.

“The hall of the Abencerrages received its name on occasion of the punishment inflicted on that unfortunate family. The eyes of the vulgar can still perceive in the basin of alabaster, which is in the midst of this apartment, traces of the blood of those brave men, whom they consider as the martyrs of enyy. Some even assert, that when dying, they were converted to the Christian faith. I have examined with care this vase of alabaster, and could find on it no other spots than those of time. For the rest this hall is truly superb on account of the beauty of its dome and the exquisite finish of the ornaments with which it is embellished.

“The inscriptions which cover its walls, consist merely of short sentences, or of some of the eulogies which have been already transcribed.

“The door which you see in this hall, and which is kept fastened, communicates with the habitation of the curate of the Alhambra. He lives in a kind of fortress, where we are told, the most extraordinary things are to be seen. Sometimes apparitions assemble by night, and open the ball in one of the apartments adjoining to the hall of the Abencerrages; at others

a long procession of Franciscan friars, with tapers in their hands, salute the curate lying on a mattress in the midst of an apartment, and jump one after another over his bed. From time to time also, deep groans and confused screams are heard in the Lions' Court. These proceed from the Abencerrages, whose spirits walk, and complain of the unjust fate to which they were doomed. Other parts of the Alhambra are the theatre of other prodigies, not less surprising. Near the ramparts of this palace is a large round tower, where the Moorish monarchs are said, to have for a long time deposited their treasures. It is seven stories high; the lowest is considerably under ground, but no person could ever get below the fourth. Here is heard the din of arms, and here too, if you look sharp, you may even perceive a company of Moorish soldiers, ready to massacre all who have the temerity to attack them. They are stationed here to guard prodigious treasures, and they have two or three terrific monsters to assist them in this duty. The most formidable of these monsters is a horse without a head. They have been seen by several persons now living (in 1778); and there is even a soldier who has conversed with them.

“ The inhabitants of the Alhambra dream of nothing but gold and silver. If they happen

to find a piece of musty parchment with Arabic letters upon it, they think their fortune made at once.

“The other hall, which likewise looks into the Lions’ Court, is now totally neglected and full of rubbish and filth. After the conquest it was used for thirty years as a church. You here find a repetition of the same sentences which I have frequently quoted. On its walls are also to be seen more modern inscriptions, far inferior in merit to those of the Arabs.

“You are conducted to the bathing-room by a dark, winding corridor, perfectly adapted to the coolness and the seclusion which it requires. The basins are of white marble, and covered with vaulted roofs of stone perforated at intervals with holes, forming the figures of stars, flowers, or crescents, which admit a soft and skilfully managed light into this voluptuous retreat. This apartment is in good preservation, but no more attention is there paid to cleanliness than in the rest of the palace. Here are still to be seen stoves, beds, or at least what they were laid upon, and boxes for the musicians.

“The closet belonging to the baths is adorned with a common-place inscription; but which, from an allusion to the history of Mahomet deserves to be recorded here. It is repeated on the four walls, and is as follows:

“ He who places his trust in God will be successful in his undertakings. Created beings have neither strength nor breath, but what they receive from God, the most high and mighty, who covered the just with verdure. ”*

“ From the baths you proceed along a gallery which conducts to the *hall of nymphs*. This appellation it has received from two statues of females as large as life, and executed with great skill and truth in white marble. The kind of cellar in which they are preserved, likewise contains several capacious urns, in which the Moorish monarchs formerly deposited their treasures. The archbishop of Grenada, apprehensive lest the sight of such beautiful statues should prove dangerous to his diocessans, has removed them from public view, and even taken away the key of the place in which they are kept. It is not agreed to what artist these master-pieces ought to be ascribed, but it would appear that they are the work of an Arabian statuary.

“ Before we quit the Alhambra, let us say a

* This alludes to the most extravagant of the miracles which the followers of Mahomet ascribe to their prophet; who, having urgent occasion to satisfy the grossest of wants, and happening to be in the midst of a bare field, summoned the trees around him to meet, and intermingle their foliage, that, thus skreened from view, he might with decency pay his tribute to nature.

few words concerning some other monuments which have been destroyed, but the memory of which has been preserved by tradition. The convent of Franciscans, (Plate XX. No. 17) which stands near the palace of Charles V. is erected upon Moorish ruins. It was built when Philip V. and queen Isabella, his consort, visited Grenada. The monks, without the least respect for these ancient marbles which attested the magnificence of the Moorish monarchs, mixed them with the other materials employed for the purpose of transforming a voluptuous palace into an asylum of gloomy fanaticism. Among the inscriptions which were buried or mutilated, the two following are worthy of being preserved:—

God be with my king Abulgagegh and with thee Joseph, my king, my protector and my master : share the admiration and the praises, which the beauty, the elegance, and the finished execution of my work command. In times past, I served as a place of pleasure for thy noble ancestors ; shall I be less agreeable in thy sight ? My fame and my charms are heightened ; they have embellished me with new inventions. Thou hast removed fear from me ; thou hast made a rampart which protects me ; thy glory continues to increase ; time engraves thy exploits still deeper than ever. Thou art called the triumphant monarch ; kings and mighty men strive to please thee ; every one places himself under the shelter of thy pros-

perity, and I more than all the rest. I smile at the plans which thou formest for my embellishment, because I become a witness of thy magnificence: thou, Juseph, knewest how to embellish me. The riches of thine imagination were poured forth upon me; thou hast made me the subject of the praises of all. Thy clemency and thy bounty constitute my glory; from my fountain issues a pure and salubrious stream; it seems to fly into the air, and its murmur is a sweet and tender melody; its fall is a way of paying thee homage; the tremblings to which I am subject are marks of respect; they express my fear, but it is not accompanied with the wish to avoid thee. Juseph is my support, he is my defender: in all that I say in my praise, reason is my guide. I delight all those who behold me, and the sight of me is a reward. O generation of nobles, bestow on me your admiration! And ye, brave and valiant heroes, be not less zealous to sound forth my praise while your eyes are fixed upon my beauties. Let my praise be sublime, because all that I contain is sublime. O Juseph, my lord, and my king, living image of the prophet, thou hast accomplished thy promises to me, and thou hast shewn me all thine affection.

“ The second is to this effect:

Abode of delight, I am pleased with the places which resemble me; they would excite my envy, if they were as perfect as myself. Consider this reservoir which embellishes me, and thou will find it more brilliant than the polished and burnished blade of steel. To my beauty are added the favours of Juseph;

his affection diffuses around me that pure and delicious air which thou inhaledst. This basin resembles a handsome cup finished by the hand of art, and from which the lips of beauty sip the liquid that gives them freshness and charms; but the water rushes upwards, it spreads in undulating sheets; the glistening drops commingle and conceal a mysterious heart, which contains secret wonders; and thou, Juseph, the purifier of the sect and of the faith of the believers, the sublime point in which all kinds of glory are concentrated; thou who livest like the best of kings, as the setting sun, which plunges below the horizon and reascends into the heavens with renovated splendour, thy name, which was declining, has resumed its lustre in this garden. All the nations have come to admire my pomp; it shall last to eternity. O Juseph! O my master! thou art the file of the law, and the refuge of those who practise it! Thou art a fertile meadow, which from its abundant juices, gives nourishment and life to the plants and to the flowers. Thou art a tuft of aromatic herbs; thou impartest the enjoyment of happiness and life.

“The Arabs never neglected an opportunity of paying a compliment to water; almost all the apartments of the Alhambra are provided with basins and cascades, so that in summer it must have been a delightful retreat. Water, on account of its clearness and purity, is always taken to the *Koran*, as an emblem of a docile and sincere heart.

“The church of the Franciscans was formerly a mosque. This is demonstrated by a marble tablet, which was placed against the walls of the ancient convent and contained the following lines in Arabic :

Say, there is no God but God; let the words be upon thy lips, as well as in thy heart. God, in thy favour and at the intercession of his prophet, reduced the number; diminish it not; pardon is at the place of prayer.*

“The way from the Alhambra to the Generalif is by a very low gate, which favoured the flight of Abdali when Grenada was taken by Ferdinand the Catholic.

“The signification of the Arabic term, *Generalif*, is, we are told, the house of love, of dancing, of pleasure. It was built by Omar, a prince who was so fond of music, that he retired to this palace, that he might abandon himself entirely to this his ruling passion.

“The situation of the Generalif is the most agreeable and picturesque of any in the environs of Grenada. It stands upon a mountain of considerable height. Numberless springs there pour forth their currents, and form charming

* This is explained by one of the passages in the nocturnal journey, in which Mahomet relates, that God would have enjoined the true believers to pray one hundred times a day, but that, by his remonstrances, he prevailed upon him to reduce the number to four.

cascades in the courts, the gardens, and the apartments of this ancient palace. These gardens are laid out in the manner of an amphitheatre, and many of their trees, venerable for their age, now afford that shade to Christians which they formerly did to the Moors. I seated myself at the foot of two cypresses, whose furrowed bark, whose grey colour, and whose great height, attest their antiquity. They are still called the cypresses of the Sultana-Queen; and it is asserted, that beneath these trees the perfidious Gomel attainted the virtue of that princess and of the Abencerrages. They are said to be near four hundred years old.

“Generalif is a place highly favoured by nature. If a countryman of Sterne and Richardson were the proprietor of it, it would probably surpass all that the fertile imaginations of novel writers have ever conceived. Its present possessors have no relish for its beauties. Who can behold without regret, palaces coldly symmetrical, bordering the superb and natural terraces of these enchanted gardens; and this beautiful spot, once the abode of Asiatic voluptuousness, overrun with reeds and creeping plants, like the grounds of a Capuchin convent. The purity of the air of the Generalif, the Moorish architecture, and simple style of its buildings; the limpidity and abundance of its

waters; led me back in imagination to the time when Grenada was one of the most flourishing cities in the world. It is now dreary and deserted. A change of masters, manners, and government, has effaced its former glory.

“ Let us enter the palace, and examine what ye remains of this edifice. The corridor leading to the apartments presents the following inscription :

May God be my help against that tempter the devil. God is great, wise, powerful, and just: he will torment those who multiply God, and who make him ugly; he will cast them into the abyss where they must dwell for ever. Believe in God and his prophet; he is sent that ye might praise him, and that ye might honour him night and day. Sing his praises: to whomsoever salutes you, return the salutation; and in the name of God, touch your beard, and let it be done with affection. If any one would disturb your tranquillity, may his own be disturbed: and whoever adds to the duties which God prescribes, shall receive for it a great reward.

“ In the first apartment, are two inscriptions upon the window. That on the right is as follows :

Israel is the elder, the great, the highly favoured. God gave him glory and an establishment. If thou contributest to his greatness, thou shalt be honoured like the kings who are descended from him. He giveth

life to those who are athirst ; he uniteth and upholdeth the faithful.

“ The other inscription is more elegant.

The window which is at the entrance of this happy palace, is designed to contribute to the pleasures of the noble. The charming view which it presents, delights the eye and elevates the soul. Give thanks to God ; and this fountain which you behold pleases the eyes of its king, and seems to receive additional beauty from his looks.

“ On leaving this hall, you find yourself beneath the arcades which run all round the court, called the court of the pond. They are adorned with an inscription, which is one of the best of its kind.

Charming palace ! thou appearest with great majesty ; thy splendour equals thy extent, and thy light is diffused on all around thee. Thou art worthy of all praise ; for thy embellishments have something divine. Thy garden is decorated with flowers, which rest upon their stems, and emit the sweetest perfumes : a breeze shakes the orange tree, and wafts far around the delicious fragrance of its blossoms. I hear voluptuous music intermingled with the rustling of the leaves of thy groves ; all is harmony ; all about me is covered with verdure and with flowers. Abulgalil, thou best of kings ; protector of the faithful and of the law, thou art the object of my esteem. May God preserve thee, and confirm thy noble hopes : thou canst,

give lustre to the meanest works. This apartment, which is dedicated to thee, possesses such a degree of perfection and solidity, that it may compare its duration with that of the sect itself: it is a triumph, a prodigy of art.

The Moors had an university and academy at Grenada. There were among them excellent physicians, famous astrologers, celebrated botanists, and mathematicians; some good painters and skilful statuary; but the science in which the Arabs had made the greatest progress, was theology."

This long extract from the *Recent Travels in Spain*, by M. Peyron, leaves little to be added respecting the kingdom of Grenada, and its renowned capital in particular. We think it will not prove uninteresting, accompanied with the plates which will afford some idea of the most curious relics of Moorish magnificence still existing in that city and its vicinity. By causing engravings of these precious monuments to be executed,* the Spanish government has rendered an important service to literature and the arts. It is to be hoped that it will not confine itself to this first specimen of the curiosities of Spain. That kingdom exhibits monuments of every kind: it contains vestiges still

* Plate XIX of the atlas represents the frontispiece of the Spanish work. It exhibits the entrance of the Alhambra, with the modern repairs.

perceptible of its Carthaginian conquerors; masterpieces of gothic architecture; Roman antiquities; * monuments of Moorish magnificence, scarcely injured by the hand of time; and picturesque situations, in the midst of rocks, grouped in the most singular manner. On the summits of the hoary mountains, in the mazes of the valleys, on the banks of the torrents of the kingdom of Grenada, on the shores of the ocean and of the Mediterranean, in the gardens and the environs of St. Ildefonso, in the interior of the Escorial and around that gloomy palace, in the charming dale of Aranjuez, in a thousand places, Spain awaits the pen-

* The abbé Pons, in his work entitled *Viage de España*, in 17 volumes, the last of which appeared in 1792, and which death prevented him from bringing to a conclusion, has, it is true, already taken a step towards the accomplishment of the wish that we have here expressed. Among the numerous engravings which accompany his work, we find representations of most of the Roman monuments in Spain; as the aqueduct of Segovia, the amphitheatre of Saguntum, the bridges of Alcantara and of Merida, the remains of a Roman temple at Talavera, those of a building reputed to be Roman, at Barcelona, &c. But the *Viage de España*, is not we believe translated into any other language; its details are perhaps too minute to interest in their original form any other than Spanish readers; besides which, the engravings which it contains are so diminutive, as to be unworthy of the monuments which they delineate. These Roman antiquities certainly deserve to be exhibited on a larger scale, and more carefully executed, to the curiosity of the literati and of artists.

cil of the artist. We have *Picturesque Tours of Greece, of Italy, of Sicily*. They excite in the amateurs of the arts, in the lovers of antiquity, a wish that another might be added to the number. It is in the power of Charles IV. to shed lustre over his reign, by accomplishing this wish of enlightened Europe. He would then have no reason to envy the monarch who has left him so great an example, by recovering from the bosom of the earth and restoring to the living the treasures of Herculaneum.

From this digression, into which I have been led by the kingdom of Grenada, let us return to the route to Cadiz.

From Cordova to Ecija is a distance of ten leagues, along a road which stood in great need of the repairs that it has recently received. The country itself has been peopled within the last thirty years by new colonists, whose habitations are scattered by the side of the road.

After changing horses at the new detached *venta* of Mango Negro, you proceed to Carlotta, a pretty village, built for the same purpose and nearly at the same time as Carolina. It is the chief settlement of the new colonists of Andalusia. Both these establishments are under the jurisdiction of one governor. La Carlotta, the principal place of the second colony, had only sixty inhabitants in 1791; but the district contained six hundred.

Luisiana; another colony beyond Ecija, had no more than two hundred and forty. Lastly, a little further on, Fuente Palmera; another chief place of these new establishments, comprehended in its district three hundred and fifty habitations.

These colonies, the creation of humanity and wisdom, present a spectacle highly gratifying to the philanthropist. We cannot but be surprised, however, at the slowness of their progress. Can it proceed from some radical vice, from that want of energy and perseverance, without which nothing but imperfect results are produced; or is it solely owing to the repugnance of the Spaniards to leave their native place, and their aversion to changes, even though for the better? Why have not a greater number of colonists been induced, by the hope of bettering their condition, to repair from other and more populous provinces of Spain, and even from foreign countries, and to settle with eagerness on a soil so fertile as that, especially in the vicinity of Ecija? We are assured that corn there yields a forty-fold return; and that the kitchen gardens, which occupy in great numbers the banks of the Xenil, produce three or four crops a year.

Ecija is situated between Carlotta and Luisiana. It is a pretty large place, and one of the most pleasant in Andalusia. Many of the houses, and even some of its churches, are painted

on the outside, in a truly ridiculous manner. It contains about six thousand hearths. Fragments of marble columns, trunks of statues, stones covered with inscriptions, attest its ancient splendor. Its situation between two hills on the west bank of the Xenil, which traverses a prodigious plain on its way to Grenada, renders it subject to intense heat and frequent inundations. This town and its territory possess all the principles of prosperity. Plantations of olive trees, fertile corn fields, vineyards and extensive meadows, supply their inhabitants with abundance. But they are almost utter strangers to that industry by which they were formerly distinguished. At the entrance of the town the traveller may, by the way, remark, but cannot admire, on the one hand the venerated image of St. Paul, the patron of the town, and on the other the statues of Charles III. Charles IV. his queen, and the infant Don Louis.

From Ecija may be seen the town of Estipa, situated at the distance of five leagues, on a hill, from the top of which you have a view of a prodigious and very fertile plain, covered with plantations of olive trees.

Three leagues beyond Ecija you come to Luisiana, a new colony, the houses of which began some years since to fall to ruin. The traveller meets with the same painful spectacle a league further on, at the last place belonging to these

celebrated colonies of the Sierra Morena. They begin on the other side of the mountains at La Concepcion de Almuradiel, and comprise in the whole a space of more than forty leagues.

The road which passes through them, and which has been so long wanted, is at length nearly completed. In order to render it fit for travelling in every season, it has been necessary to build about four hundred bridges, great and small, across the rivers, smaller streams, and quagmires, which rain rendered impassable.

On leaving Luisiana, you perceive on the top of a naked hill some of the houses of the town of Carmona, which command a view of vast plains covered with olive trees, and producing in particular abundance of wheat of the best quality. The town itself is pleasant and lively; but good taste cannot forgive its principal steeple; a modern gewgaw, awkwardly copied from that of Seville, and overloaded with ridiculous ornaments of different colours.

The gate of Carmona is a monument of the solidity of the works of the Romans. It appears to be of the time of Trajan, and it has been in some places absurdly retouched in the modern style.

The distance from Carmona to Seville is six leagues. The road conducts through vineyards, olive grounds, and rows of flourishing

aloes, which serve both for a fence and an ornament to the fields. Would the reader believe that this beautiful country is almost a desert?

The high road from Madrid to Cadiz does not lead, as formerly, through Seville, but through the village of Alcala, two leagues higher up on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Who would not turn out of his way to see that famous city, the second in the kingdom, of which the Andalusians, the Gascons of Spain, have long said :

Quien no ha visto Sevilla
No ha visto maravilla.*

This circuit is not unpleasant, the inhabitants of Seville having resolved to construct an excellent road from that city to the high road.

* Whoever has not seen Seville, has seen nothing wonderful.

CHAP. V.

Seville—Xeres—Arcos—Approaches to Cadiz.

THE situation of Seville is admirable, its climate delicious, and the surrounding country fertile. But how little do these people avail themselves of such important advantages! How different, at least, is this city from what it formerly was! Cotemporary historians inform us, that, when it was taken by St. Ferdinand, three hundred thousand Moors came out of it, exclusive of those who had perished during a siege of sixteen months, and such as chose to remain. If we may believe the complaints addressed by its manufacturers to the government, in 1700, Seville had contained sixteen thousand silk looms of all sizes, and one hundred and thirty thousand persons had been employed there in the silk manufactures alone. A few years since there were no more than 2318 looms. With respect to its present population, it was found but too necessary and too easy to ascertain it during the dreadful calamity which, in the year 1800 in particular, desolated this city, as well as the greatest part of the south of Spain.

The enumeration of the inhabitants of Seville, taken on this fatal occasion, gave for the interior of the city 60,0218, and 20,0350 for the seven quarters situated without the walls; making a total of 80,568. Of these 76,488 were attacked by the contagion, which carried off 14,685 persons, between the 28th of August and the 30th of November. This scourge renewed its ravages in the beginning of the autumn of 1801, and spread over all Andalusia, but at Seville it proved much less destructive than the preceding year.

Few cities contain so many public edifices devoted to the purposes of religion, of charity, or of the administration, as Seville. It comprehends twenty five parish churches, and five chapels of ease, a commandery of St. John d'Acre, exempt from the episcopal jurisdiction, thirty-one convents for men, twenty-nine nunneries, three congregations of canons regular, three religious communities known in Spain by the appellation of *Beaterios*, two seminaries, eight hospitals, and two houses of correction.

The archbishopric of Seville, one of the richest prelacies in Christendom, is held, in conjunction with that of Toledo, which is still richer, by the son of the infant Don Louis, who goes by the name of the Count de Chinchon, and who has likewise been invested with the Roman purple. By thus loading him with

wealth and honours, the government has placed him in a situation worthy of his birth, and prevented those difficulties, which, at some future period, might have arisen, had he not embraced the ecclesiastical profession.

The cathedral of Seville is one of the most remarkable religious edifices in all Spain. It contains a great number of statues, many of which are not destitute of merit; tombs more or less superbly decorated, and spacious chapels surcharged with ornaments. In that in which are placed the baptismal fonts, are exhibited two admirable pieces of that eminent artist, who was a native of Seville, and whose principal productions adorn this city, of Murillo, whose works were long wanting in the rich collection of the kings of France, and who at length occupies a place in the National Museum. Nine other pictures by this painter are to be seen in the hall of the chapter, which might have dispensed with other ornaments, and two in the sacristy. In the royal chapel, we remark, among other tombs, that of St. Ferdinand, covered with Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Spanish inscriptions; that of Alphonso X. surnamed the Wise, or the Astronomer, &c. But none of the tombs of these monarchs makes such a deep impression, or excites such interesting recollections, as that of Christopher Columbus, erected in front of the

choir, with this inscription; which is at least striking for its brevity:

A Castilla y Arragon
Otro mundo dio Colon.*

His son, Don Ferdinand, who would be deemed a great man, had he sprung from a less renowned father, has also a monument in one of the chapels; but his epitaph is not so beautiful, for it is longer, and less simple.

The steeple of this cathedral, denominated the *Giralda*, is one of the most beautiful monuments in Spain, (See Pl. XV.) The ascent to its summit is spiral, and without steps. It is 250 feet in height, and is crowned with a statue representing Faith. Over one of the five naves is placed the library, which comprises about twenty thousand volumes. This collection is not for mere ostentation. Excepting the capital, Seville contains a greater number of enlightened men than any city in Spain. Its Patriotic Society can boast of more than one member, not less distinguished for talents than for patriotism. A taste for the fine arts in pay-

* Every body knows, however, that the remains of Columbus were removed from Seville, to the principal church of Santo Domingo; and though M. Moreau de St. Mery sought in vain to ascertain the spot where they were deposited, the tradition of the country scarcely leaves room to doubt the circumstance. See the Description of the Spanish Part of St. Domingo, Vol. I. p. 124, &c.

ticular is cultivated at Seville; its inhabitants with exultation claim as their fellow citizens several painters of the Spanish school, as Roelas, Vargas, Zurbaran, and especially the incomparable Murillo, whose merits cannot be duly appreciated but by those who have seen the numerous master-pieces which he has left in his native city. The Hospital of Charity contains ten which command the warmest admiration of connoisseurs. Eleven are exhibited in one of the cloisters of the convent of St. Francis. Lastly, among several pieces by this great master, belonging to the Capuchins, the spectator is never tired of contemplating a Christ descending from the cross, with the expression of the most affecting tenderness to embrace St. Francis.

Besides these master-pieces of painting, and others of the Spanish school, there are several edifices at Seville worthy of the notice of the traveller.

The first is the Exchange, or *Lonja*, a detached building, each façade of which is two hundred feet long. It has been lately repaired and embellished. Here it is intended to deposit all the old records and papers relative to Spanish America—the archives of exploits, crimes, and miseries, where history and philosophy will long be able to find ample treasures.

The Alcazar is a magnificent structure, begun

and for a considerable time inhabited by the Moorish sovereigns, enlarged by the king Don Pedro, and afterwards by Charles V. who added to it embellishments in a superior style. It has been the residence of several kings of Spain; and Philip V. who passed some time here with his whole court, was tempted to make this palace his regular abode:—a design which, had it not been for political considerations, would probably have been put in execution before this time, to the great satisfaction of all Spain, except of the inhabitants of Madrid.

In this Alcazar have been deposited various pieces of antique statues, found at some distance from Seville. The formation of this precious collection is principally owing to the efforts of Don Francisco Bruna, an enlightened antiquary, a zealous and indefatigable citizen, who does honour to his native country.

Another spacious and handsome edifice is the tobacco and snuff manufactory, completed in 1757; a prodigious establishment, as well for the size of the building as for the number of hands employed in it. On seeing the walls and ditches with which it is surrounded, and the drawbridges which you are obliged to cross in order to reach it, you would take this establishment, as Fischer observes, for a fortress. Here the tobacco is received in the leaf, as it comes from the Havannah, where a very small

quantity is manufactured. The details of this fabrication are not uninteresting. The tobacco leaves are first reduced to powder, which is then mixed with a preparation of ochre, also made here, in order to give it a colour. The snuff thus composed is put into tin boxes, removed to the store-houses, labelled, packed, and sent to every part of the peninsula. A particular room is devoted to the making of the little rolls, called *cigars*, the consumption of which is so prodigious in Spain. It would be difficult to find within a smaller compass, more activity and a greater variety of occupations.

The foundery of brass cannon, which, with that of Barcelona, supplies all the Spanish arsenals in Europe, is likewise a structure remarkable for its extent and the beauty of its arrangement. The method of Maritz, with some trifling variations, is still followed there. A considerable saving might be made in the expenses of this establishment. Each quintal of Mexican or Peruvian copper refined here, cost, some years since, fifty reals. Not long before, a Frenchman had proposed a method, by which twenty-two reals a quintal would have been saved. His plan was instantly rejected. He nevertheless persisted to urge its adoption. Some experiments which were made, to avoid the appearance of determined opposition, proved the good quality of the copper refined and cast according to

his method ; but intrigue, which was not idle, found means to prevent his further success. For some years the expensive establishment which he afterwards founded at Port Real, opposite to Cadiz, has done nothing but furnish the copper nails used in the sheathing of ships.

The mint is one of the most ancient buildings in Seville, and was formerly remarkable for its activity. We are assured by writers of the time to which we allude, that seven hundred mares of gold and silver were there daily converted into money. For a considerable time it coined only on the account of private individuals ; and it is only since 1718 that it has been employed for the king.

The last edifices we shall mention, are the seminary of St. Elmo, which contains a school of navigation ; and the Tower del Oro, an ancient structure, supposed to have been erected by the Romans. It was doubtless designed for the protection of the shipping. It was from this building that the Moors threw a chain across the Guadalquivir to the opposite shore, where is situated the suburb of Triana, which communicates with the city by a bridge of boats. This river rises on one side of the chain of mountains called the Sierra de Segura, and directs its course to the ocean ; while the Segura, springing from the other side, proceeds toward the Mediterranean, and waits to Murcia, Ori-

hucla, Carthagena, and other places, the timber with which those mountains are covered.

It was to the Guadalquivir that Seville, in former times, owed its splendour. The largest ships then ascended to the very quays of Seville, and those of less burden went up as high as Cordova. At present vessels of large size advance no further than Bonanza, a village fifteen leagues from Seville; and only those of eighty tons or under can sail up to that city. The cargoes of the others are conveyed thither in small boats.

Some capital buildings adorn that part of the banks of the Guadalquivir which faces the suburb of Triana. Here Lerena, while intendant of Andalusia, began a plantation which has since become a charming walk. When the foliage of its trees shall have grown a little thicker, the inhabitants of Seville will have no occasion to envy those of the capital. To M. Olavidé this city is indebted for part of its quays and many public establishments. The anathemas of the inquisition have perhaps long prevented his name from being there uttered aloud, but they cannot prevent his memory from being cherished by the inhabitants.

In the interior of the city there is a beautiful walk, adorned with fountains, and formed by five alleys of trees which are watered by little canals.

The environs of Seville, like those of most of the towns of Andalusia, are well cultivated. The traveller, after passing through the desert and naked plains of Castile and La Mancha, beholds their orchards and country houses with pleasure.

But what renders the vicinity of Seville particularly worthy of the curiosity of the traveller, is the ruins of Italica, an ancient Roman town, the native place of Silius Italicus. It was situated about a league and a half to the north of Seville, along the left bank of the Guadalquivir. The monuments of it which yet remain, were rescued from the ravages of time and ignorance by the monks, whose convent is situated close to them. M. Broussonet has subjoined to a recent tour in Spain, some interesting particulars relative to Italica and its ruins.

On the modern road from Carmona to Cadiz there is nothing worthy of notice before you arrive at Xerez, except the town of Utrera, which contains about two thousand hearths.

The avenues to Xerez give a very favourable idea of that town. With a little trouble it might be made one of the most interesting in the kingdom. The situation could not be more agreeable, and its streets are in general straight and wide. The top of its Alcazar, which has become a place of public resort, commands the

most delightful prospects of the adjacent country.

Its extensive territory wants nothing but a more careful cultivation to render it one of the most fertile tracts in Europe. All the productions of the earth thrive here: the vineyards are the principal source of wealth to Xerez; and besides them it has plantations of olives, pastures, woods of pines and oak trees, hemp fields, &c. Its vineyards, notwithstanding they are badly managed, produce, one year with another, 360,000 arrobas of wine, of which about 200,000 are exported chiefly by the English and French.* The quantity of corn raised in this district might be more than doubled. From the neglect of this article the country is frequently exposed to want.

Still less progress has been made in the cultivation of olives. Upon an average not more than 32,000 arrobas† of oil are annually obtained. The situation is perfectly adapted to the culture of silk, which might employ thousands of women, who, for want of occupation, languish in extreme indigence.

Its breed of horses, like all the other sources of its prosperity, is on the decline. Its colts,

* The wine produced in this district is known in England by the name of Sherry. (*Translator.*)

† We have already observed, that the arroba is a weight of about twenty-five pounds.

which are the best in Andalusia, are bought up at three years old for the army; but some years since, its extensive territory contained no more than six hundred mares.

The manufactures carried on at Xerez consist only of the coarse cloth made from the three thousand arrobas of wool which it produces, some linen and ribbons, which employ about twenty looms. Most of these establishments are owing to the efforts of a Patriotic School and of certain philanthropic individuals.

Half a league from Xerez is one of the most celebrated Carthusian convents in Spain, on account of its wealth and its agreeable situation, within sight of Cadiz. The lovers of the arts will not fail to pay it a visit, for the purpose of admiring the best works of Zurbaran, and some performances of the inexhaustible Luke Jordans. We are almost induced to forgive the peaceful inhabitants of this charming retreat for their wealth and their pious indolence, on account of their tender attentions to the two most interesting periods of life. They begin the education of thirty poor children of the neighbouring town; and to twelve poor men, who are past work, they afford an asylum, where they may end their days in peace.

At the distance of two long leagues from this place is the town of Arcos. Before you reach it, you have to ford the Guadalete, the cele-

brated Lethe of the ancients. Arcos, a town with two thousand five hundred hearths, is situated in the centre of a most fertile tract amidst groves of orange trees, upon an inaccessible rock, from which you may discern the mountains of Ronda, Medina Sidonia, and Gibraltar. The Guadalete partly surrounds Arcos, and roars along the bottom of a deep, winding valley, where it seems to pursue the track which the poets have marked out for it.

Between the Carthusian convent of Xerez and the modern town, called *Island of Leon*, you travel four leagues without meeting with a single hamlet. After crossing the Guadalete, you come to a prodigious plain, where was fought the battle which put an end to the empire of the Goths, and subjected Spain for several centuries to the yoke of the Arabs. You are now upon the confines of ancient Boetica. This concurrence of objects, which recal to the mind the ingenious inventions of fable and important historical events, the bounty of nature and the ingratitude of those who so ill requite it, afford abundant matter for deep reflection. We compare the boundless field of imagination with the narrow limits which indolence prescribes to industry, and attractive chimæras to gloomy realities; and while we admire the brilliant inventors of those wonders, we pity the modern actors, who prove themselves so unworthy of so

fair a theatre. But we are approaching the scene of the prodigies of commerce—we are in sight of Cadiz.

We have the first view of its bay from the top of a hill, situated half way between Xerez and Port St. Mary. Here the eye embraces the whole circumference of that bay, as though delineated upon a large map. It clearly distinguishes the two points which form the entrance, Fort St. Sebastian on one side, and the town of Rota on the other. (Plate XVI.) Right before you lies Cadiz. You see the low, narrow neck of land which separates that city from the island of Leon, the irregular contour of the bay to La Carracca, Puerto Real, and Port St. Mary.

It was thus, without doubt, that the chains of mountains, the town, and the windings of rivers, appeared to those adventurous rivals of the inhabitants of the air; to those aërial travellers, whose daring intrepidity has for some time excited our admiration.

At Xerez you have your choice of two ways, one of which leads you round the bay by land, while the other crosses it and conducts you straight to Cadiz. If you decide in favour of the former, after passing the Carthusian convent, you come to woods of pines, the owners of which endeavour to cut off the resources of the royal marine by prematurely felling the

trees. Beyond these woods you descry the handsome towns of Port St. Mary and Puerto Real. These you leave to the right, as well as the Guadalete, which, a little lower down, divides into two branches. One of them discharges itself into the bar of Port St. Mary, the other proceeds toward Puerto Real, and is distinguished by the name of the river of San Petro, or Santi Petri. You then come to the excellent modern road which leads to Cadiz; you cross this little river by the bridge of Suazo, and enter the island of Leon, thus called because the piece of ground, on which it is situated, is surrounded by a very ancient navigable canal, which at flood-tide is from twenty-two to twenty-four feet deep. We shall have occasion to take further notice of this road and the island of Leon in the succeeding chapter.

If you determine to cross the bay, on your arrival at Port St. Mary, you hire one of the large boats, the owners of which vie with each other in offering their services to travellers, and in less than an hour you may be conveyed to the quay of Cadiz.

Port St. Mary is situated near the mouth of the Guadalete, which, by the sands which it carries down into the bay, has formed a bar, that cannot be passed over without danger, especially in winter. The boatmen, whose interest it is to keep the passengers in terror, for

the purpose of laying them under contribution, never fail to exaggerate the danger; and at the moment when it is most imminent, repeat a prayer, and afterwards make it a pretext for begging something: but the most timid passengers, be they even ever such devotees, have more confidence in the skill of their conductors than in the efficacy of their prayers.

CHAP. VI.

Description of Cadiz, its new establishments and its port—La Caracca—The island of Leon, its magazines and docks.

When I arrived at Cadiz, in 1785, O'Reilly governed, or rather reigned there; and it must be admitted, that during his reign that city underwent salutary changes of various kinds. To him it owes its embellishment, its increase, and its cleanliness, but I cannot add its security. Assassinations continued to be very frequent at that period, and have not since become less common.

Under his active administration, the old houses were pulled down, and gave place to new ones regularly built. The streets were paved, made straighter, and constantly kept clean. The vacant places were covered with habitations. He may even be reproached with excess of economy in respect to ground. In several triangular spaces, houses were erected by his orders, which without affording any convenience to their inhabitants, seemed to have no other object than that of incommoding their neighbours. He even endeavoured to extend the city, by gaining land from the

sea. The space occupied by the custom-house and the adjacent buildings, was obtained from that element, but at a period anterior to his administration. He meditated another project of the same kind.

He had formed a plan for taking possession of the ground of the *Alameda*, a walk along the side of the bay, the trees of which exhibit visible marks of that neighbourhood. It was his intention to build there, and to lengthen the space, by raising to a level with it that part of the shore which runs in toward the interior of the city, and on the edge of this new embankment, he designed to plant a fresh alley of trees. To accomplish this kind of miracle, funds were necessary, and particularly stones and rubbish sufficient to fill up the prodigious space which he intended to gain from the sea.

Count O'Reilly* likewise bestowed much attention on the embellishment of the approach on the land side, which was formerly covered with bushes, and served as a haunt for robbers.

* M. O'Reilly's plan has, in some measure, however, been put into execution. Under his successors, the *Alameda* has become a most beautiful walk, commanding on the one hand a view of the sea, and adorned on the other with a great number of handsome modern houses; but the coolness and the shade afforded by thick foliage must not yet be sought, neither will they ever be found there.

Under the administration of one of his predecessors, gardens had been laid out, and several country-houses built there. But at the time of the dispute relative to the Falkland Islands, the pusillanimous governor, imagining the place in danger, and the enemy at his gates, entrenched behind the feeble efforts of his industry, ordered them to be demolished.

During the administration of the Count de Xerena, the predecessor of O'Reilly, they were rebuilt, but they received all their embellishments from the latter. He extended the cultivation of the isthmus to the side of the high-road from Cadiz to the island of Leon; he even formed a garden as agreeable as the soil, which is wholly sandy, permitted, and inclosed it with railing. This example was imitated by his neighbours, so that for a quarter of a league from the land-gate, the road was bordered by similar fences, which, from their uniformity, seemed all to belong to the same proprietor. The vegetation, indeed, was visibly affected by the proximity of the sea, the heat of the climate, and the nature of the soil whose sands could not be covered with good earth beyond a certain depth; but it was not the less agreeable to see the verdure, and to gather flowers and fruits upon a spot which so many circumstances seem to have doomed to everlasting sterility. On visiting

the governor's garden, and that of Mora, the assessor, contiguous to it, on beholding all the productions of Andalusia, the vine, the mulberry and olive-tree which flourished there, the stranger forgot the nature of the soil on which he stood, and the element by which he was almost entirely surrounded. It was probable that in time these environs of the land-gate would form a kind of suburb ; and at the distance of a full quarter of a league from the city, a church had already been erected for those who resided in that neighbourhood.

But this creation of O'Reilly did not long survive the government of its author. The sand has partly resumed its empire in a tract, the possession of which had been thus disputed with it. Still, however, there exist traces of the revolution, undertaken by O'Reilly, and the sandy desert which before his time disgraced the approaches to Cadiz, has receded to the distance of half a league from the landgate.

But nothing does more honour to the understanding and humanity of O'Reilly than the hospital, which owed to him, if not its first establishment, at least the admirable arrangements which were introduced previous to the year 1785. In one and the same edifice was afforded relief to persons of all classes who require either the succour or the superintendence of government; to the aged of both sexes, to incurables, to vagrants, to prostitutes, to the

insane, and to children of either sex whose parents were unable to maintain them. Each of these classes was placed in spacious and airy apartments; and every person was furnished with food and employment suitable to his age and condition. In this institution indigent families found an asylum, and yet the number of its inmates alarmed not the beneficence of the administration. To prevent abuses, however, the commissary of each quarter was obliged to deliver every week to the governor, a list of all the persons of both sexes in his jurisdiction who stood in need of relief. The governor examined the list, and wrote his directions in the margin. In 1785, out of the seventeen quarters of which Cadiz is composed, there were fourteen, in which was not to be found a single individual unable to earn a subsistence, or destitute of that succour which might at least render life supportable; and before the disgrace of O'Reilly, the benefits of this establishment were extended to the whole city.

The good order which prevailed in this institution was chiefly owing to his continual attention. His views were zealously promoted by many citizens of distinction, who, either from motives of humanity, or to ingratiate themselves with him, had undertaken the direction of the different wards. Their presence seemed to inspire only confidence and respect; their visits restored serenity, hope and joy.

Prostitutes and lunatics were the only persons confined; those of all the other classes had liberty to go out in companies at certain hours. None were exempted from work but those who were absolutely disabled by age or infirmity. The rest were chiefly employed in carding, spinning and weaving the cotton imported from the American colonies. In the month of September 1785, there were more looms set up, than hands to keep them at work; and the surplus of the stuffs thus manufactured, above the quantity consumed by the inhabitants of the house, was sold to augment the funds of the institution. To those which it possessed before M. O'Reilly undertook the management, he had added the produce arising from the sale of certain pieces of ground belonging to the city. Lastly, the charity of the citizens increased them with ample contributions. Soon after the removal of O'Reilly, this institution degenerated a little. Some beggars again made their appearance in the streets. But more recently, and especially during the active and vigilant administration of the present governor, the Marquis de Solano,* the hospital of Cadiz has again become what it was in the time of count O'Reilly, a pattern for charitable institutions.

* The same who a few months since so miserably fell a victim to his attachment to the French. (*Translator.*)

I cannot help doing justice to this officer of whom so unfavourable an opinion was entertained by his contemporaries. Among other talents, he particularly possessed the art of rendering every circumstance and every passion subservient to his designs. His despotism was dreaded. The expression of one of his wishes was equivalent to a command; and by his insinuating manners, he prevailed on such of the inhabitants of Cadiz as were least attached to him, to devote their time, their carts, waggons, and horses to works undertaken, as he pretended, for the public benefit, but which were sometimes nothing but the offspring of his caprice.

Cadiz is farther indebted to him for the repair of the road leading to the island of Leon. This work he committed to the superintendence of M. du Bournial, a French engineer, whom he had invited from France, in order to employ him in his military school at Port St. Mary. This road, which, on leaving Cadiz, is a full quarter of a league in width, gradually grows narrower, till at the distance of a league, the sea at flood-tide washes the foot of the causeway which resembles a mole thrown by the bold hand of man across the abysses of ocean. Du Bournial raised this road, made it shorter and more solid, and thus entitled himself to the gratitude of the inhabitants of Cadiz.

O'Reilly proposed to employ him in the execution of a plan, if not of greater magnitude, at least more ostentatious. It is well known that Cadiz is totally destitute of fresh water. The deficiency is very imperfectly supplied by wells, the water of which is brackish and unwholesome, and into which runs the rain-water that falls in the inner courts of the houses. The rest of this water is collected on the *azoteas*. These are flat roofs in the form of a terrace, with which almost all the houses of Cadiz are furnished, or we may even say adorned, and which serve the double purpose of a walk and observatory for the inhabitants, who are extremely solicitous to discover at a distance the fond object of their anxious hopes.

From these *azoteas* the rain-water is conducted by pipes to the cistern which occupies the open space in the interior of the house, and is thence drawn into another reservoir in one corner of the court; for the identity of wants, arising from local circumstances, has produced in this city a perfect uniformity in the figure and arrangement of almost all its buildings.

Such, then, are the only resources of the inhabitants of Cadiz, for procuring the supply of water necessary for domestic uses. With respect to that for drinking, they are obliged

to bring it from the springs of Port St. Mary, and in dry seasons, the quantity is not sufficient for their wants, though they pay, one year with another, ninety-six thousand piastres for this precarious supply—a serious inconvenience for such a populous city, for a port frequented by so many merchantmen and ships of war. In order to obviate it, O'Reilly had formed a plan for bringing fresh water to Cadiz from the heights of Medina Sidonia, a distance of eleven leagues. He had already calculated with du Bournial, the engineer, that the expence of the intended canal would not exceed two millions of piastres; and in August, 1785, he had received subscriptions to the amount of more than half that sum. Du Bournial had surveyed and taken the levels of the whole distance and had finished all the plans. He had discovered the track of 'an ancient canal constructed by the Romans for the same purpose, and the bed of which would, in a great measure, have been rendered useful for this new project.

This splendid design met, at the same time with great opposition. The work was nevertheless begun, but not more than half a league was completed. A stop was put to it by the disgrace of O'Reilly, and the inhabitants are still obliged to procure their water from Port St Mary.

To make amends, however, another project not less brilliant, and still more useful, has recently been carried into complete execution. I allude to the work designed to protect from the impetuosity of the sea, that part of Cadiz extending from Fort Sebastian to the Matadero. It was doubtless the force of the waves which in ancient times washed away a great part of the island on which that city is built. In the seventeenth century they carried away large portions of houses, and occasioned the formation of a design which is, at length accomplished. At the beginning of the last century a kind of rampart was raised in the form of a dyke to restrain their ravages; but in time this dyke was so undermined, that in tempestuous weather and high tides, this part of Cadiz was exposed to very imminent danger. Every year it was necessary to repair the devastations caused by the billows, and it was not the interest of the engineers engaged in these repairs to cut off this source of lucrative employment. Towards the end of the reign of Charles III. the government at length began to think of securing the city of Cadiz, in a durable manner, from the danger with which it was threatened. Out of several plans, the preference was given in 1786, to that of the engineer of the navy, Don Thomas Muñoz, a distinguished officer, who deserves a place among men of

genius and the benefactors of their country. His plan consisted in forming, along the walls, a kind of solid beach, sloping towards the sea, against which the waves would expend their first fury, and then subside without violence at the foot of this rampart. Enormous piles were first driven in front to break their force. Behind these begins the artificial beach. It rests upon large coffers, which it was found extremely difficult to fix upon the spot, and which were filled with a kind of stone that grows hard in water. This undertaking was begun in 1788, and finished in three years, though the works could only be continued during the ebb-tides, from the beginning of May to the end of September. The benefit derived from it is sensibly felt. The waves either no longer reach the summit of the wall, or approach it in the gentlest manner; whereas formerly they broke over it with such violence as to shake and inundate the neighbouring houses, and even sometimes to advance beyond the cathedral. The work is said to have cost fourteen millions of piastres; but the Spanish government could not have expended the money more usefully, or in a manner more honourable to itself.*

The sea on the contrary side to that which

* We learn with regret, that the works at the port of Cadiz have not proved so durable as was hoped. In 1801, the embankment of Don Thomas Muñoz sustained considerable damage from the violence of the waves.

was thus threatened, has receded in the same proportion as that to the south has advanced ; so that certain parts of the beach over which ships formerly sailed, are now nearly dry.

The bay of Cadiz is of such extent, that places are assigned to the different vessels according to their destination. Facing the city but a certain distance, is the anchorage for ships coming from European ports. More to the eastward, in the channel of the Trocadero, the Indiamen are laid up and unrigged. At the extremity of this channel stands the handsome village of Puerto Real, and on its banks are the magazines, arsenals and dock-yards for merchant vessels. The entrance of the Trocadero is defended by two forts, the one, called Matagordo, situated on the continent, the other, Fort Louis, erected by Duguay Trouin, upon an islet which is left dry at low water. The line of fire of these two forts is crossed by that of one of the *Puntales* on the opposite shore. All vessels are therefore obliged to sail within reach of these batteries to pass from the great bay into that of the *Puntales* or *Puntal*, at the bottom of which, near the magazines, are moored the unrigged ships of the royal navy.

The vast space upon which these magazines are erected, and the possession of which the sea appears to dispute with the land, is washed

to the west by the river Santi Petri and distinguished by the appellation of La Carraca. All access to this place is strictly forbidden by government to the inquisitive stranger, who is informed by the naval commandant, that he cannot be gratified with a sight of it, unless by the express command of the king. There are means, however, of accomplishing this object without it. You must go to the Island of Leon, a town nearly quite new, having been built only about the middle of the last century; and which in that short interval has grown to a prodigious size. In 1790 it contained forty thousand communicants, a *datum* from which an accurate calculation may be formed of the population of any town in Spain. Its principal street is a full quarter of a league in length, and makes a handsome appearance, though its houses are uniformly decorated and surcharged with ornaments in a bad style. The Island of Leon bears, in other respects, but little resemblance to the rest of the towns of Spain. It has an air of cleanliness and opulence, a market abundantly supplied, and a spacious and regular public square. The college of the marines has been removed from Cadiz to the Island of Leon, till the completion of the new edifice erecting for them in the new village of San Carlos, contiguous to La Carraca, where it is intended to comprise in

one building all that belongs to a complete establishment for military marine.

The Island of Leon is separated from La Carraca, by a basin nine hundred feet long and six hundred broad, from which are cut two canals, the one running to La Carraca, and the other to the sea.

From this town it is a short quarter of a league to the channel, which you must cross to go to La Carraca. You are admitted without much difficulty if you are accompanied by some privileged conductor, and are shewn all that the arsenals contain. The spectator cannot forbear admiring in particular the habitation of the galley-slaves and the rope-walk, which is six hundred paces in length and has as good an appearance as that of Prest. Those who have compared the cordage and cables of the principal dock-yards in Europe, assert that, in this particular, the Spanish navy is not inferior to any; that its cordage is better made and more durable, because in heckling the hemp, all the knotty parts are picked out and made use of in caulking, which produces the two-fold advantage of stronger cordage and the better caulking of vessels. It is not long since the Spaniards imported almost all their hemp from the north, but they will soon be able to dispense with these foreign supplies.

The kingdom of Grenada, has, for several years furnished them with great part of the hemp required for home consumption. They likewise receive some from Arragon and Navarre; and a few cargoes still continue to be imported from Riga.

The arsenals contain a great quantity of sheets of copper; but they are all brought either from Sweden or Trieste. The Spaniards are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the art of refining and preparing copper, to use that of Mexico for sheathing their ships; a practice which they began to adopt at the commencement of the American war. A few years since, however, the government ordered a flattening mill to be erected at Ferrol, which is very actively employed under the superintendence of Don Eugenio Izquierdo. Still more recently, a hammer for the preparation of sheathing, has been set up at Puerto Real, and another at Algesiras.

The reader will perhaps be surprised, that so useful an invention should not have been long ago adopted in a country which possesses a navy, manufactures of every kind, and at least the rudiments of all the arts. The reason is, because in Spain, the progress of almost every thing is yet extremely slow; because the most advantageous improvements, being almost always but feebly patronized, are frequently opposed

with all the obstinacy of prejudice, and all the acrimony of envy; because the government itself finds its power circumscribed by the passions of those by whom its confidence is usurped and betrayed.

In spite of these obstacles, however, modern times have exhibited more than one instance of brilliant success, resulting from the perseverance of the authors of inventions, and the despotic power of necessity. A proof of this is exhibited in the work of Don Thomas Muñoz at Cadiz; and a second example is to be seen in the same port. Twenty or thirty years ago, ships of war could neither be built nor refitted at that place, and in order to careen them, it was necessary to lay them upon hulks. M. de Valdez, at that time sub-inspector of La Carraca, prevailed upon government to adopt the plan of forming a dock there; and after his promotion to the administration of the naval department, he successfully exerted himself to carry this project into execution. From the nature of the ground it would have been deemed impracticable: it is a kind of clay, which soon sinks in, and seems to partake of the instability of the element with which it is surrounded and saturated. It was in the most elevated part that a beginning was made to dig the first dock in the month of August 1785. I saw the labourers driving in the forest of

piles, on which was afterwards laid a bed of stone, to give the bason a solidity against which every circumstance seemed to conspire. The engineers who directed the work scarcely durst venture to promise success. New obstacles were continually arising; but skill and perseverance at length triumphed over every difficulty. In the year 1787, instead of one there were two docks at La Carraca, for the building of sixty-four gun ships. At present there are three, two of which are actively employed; and a fourth is constructing at the Trocadero.

We must not forget to mention that Cadiz contains a school of navigation, a naval academy, and a commodious observatory provided with excellent instruments. It was for a considerable time under the direction of Don Vicente Tofiño, who has not been dead long, and who there observed the transit of Venus over the sun's disk in 1769.

It would therefore be difficult to find in any country in Europe a more complete establishment for a military navy than that of Cadiz.

CHAP. VII.

Commerce of Cadiz—Treatment of the French at that Port—Privileges enjoyed by Foreigners—New Tarif—Smuggling.

But what chiefly confers importance on Cadiz, and assimilates it with the largest cities in the world, is its prodigious commerce. In 1795 it contained more than one hundred and ten proprietors of ships, and about six hundred and seventy commercial houses, exclusive of retail dealers and shopkeepers, and of the French who had been obliged by the war to leave that place. An idea may be formed of the extent of its commerce from the number of vessels of all descriptions which enter its port. In 1776 it amounted to nine hundred and forty nine, of which two hundred and sixty five were French.

The war which soon afterwards broke out, relaxed for some time the activity of our intercourse with Cadiz; but on the return of peace, it appeared to have rather increased than diminished. Formerly no French ship arrived at Cadiz from any port of Europe to the northward of Calais. Of late years we have

made ourselves somewhat more familiar with the seas of the north ; so that many of our vessels have been dispatched from that port to Hamburgh and Amsterdam, and afterwards freighted again for Cadiz.

The extent of the intercourse of this port with the rest of Europe in 1791 may be collected from the following particulars. The number of ships which entered it was one thousand and ten. Of these one hundred and eighty were English ; one hundred and seventy six from the Spanish dominions in America ; one hundred and sixty two from the Spanish dominions in Europe ; one hundred and sixteen French ; one hundred and four Portuguese ; ninety from the United States ; eighty Dutch ; forty-one Danish ; twenty-five Swedish ; twenty-two Ragusan ; six Genoese ; two Venetian ; one Hamburgher ; one Russian ; one Imperial ; and one Spanish ship from Manilla.

The one hundred and seventy seven Spanish ships from the colonies, including that from Manilla brought gold and silver, coined, wrought and in bullion, to the amount of 25,788,175 piastres.

Cadiz had at that time an extensive direct commerce with the Spanish Indies. In the course of the same year, 1791, thirty five vessels sailed from that port for the Windward

Islands ; twenty for La Vera Cruz ; sixteen for Monte Video ; seven for Lima ; eight for Honduras ; five for Carthagena ; making a total of one hundred and five.

The ports of France which have commercial connections with Cadiz are, Marseilles, Havre, Rouen, Morlaix, St. Malo, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Nantes, and St. Valery. I have named them in succession, according to the extent of their intercourse with that port. Prior to the French revolution, which has produced more than one alteration in the commercial relations between France and Spain, Marseilles annually sent thither commodities to the amount of nearly twelve million of livres (half a million sterling) principally consisting of silks and gilding: the greatest part of the cargoes from Havre and Rouen were composed of woollens ; and those from Morlaix and St. Malo of linens, which were likewise a principal article in the few shipments from Nantes. Bordeaux and Bayonne sent scarcely any thing but flour and bacon, and the woollens of Amiens were the chief contributions of St. Valery.

The foreign nations who have the greatest number of houses established at Cadiz, are the Irish, the Flemings, the Genoese, and the Germans. The latter are chiefly Hamburgers, who are peculiarly favoured by their very ancient

treaties with Spain, and who, quiet in appearance, but bold and persevering in reality, engage in every branch of commerce. They make, however, a good use of their profits. They form a kind of association, and have established a fund for the relief of their indigent countrymen.

Of all the commercial nations the English and French have the fewest houses at Cadiz, but they nevertheless take a considerable share in the commerce of that city. Twenty years ago there were at Cadiz upwards of fifty great French houses, divided into classes, according to the real, or at least the acknowledged capital of each. Among these houses were some of the first importance, the members of which might consider Cadiz, as their second country; but who, so far from forgetting their native land, doubly enriched it by promoting the sale of its productions, and afterwards returning thither with the fruits of their profitable speculations: a valuable kind of colonists, who cannot be bound by too many ties to the mother country, but who seem of late years to be rather discouraged, as well by the treatment they have experienced, and the traces of which the treaty of 1795 has not yet effaced, as by the competition of the native merchants, whose eyes are daily more and more opened to their true interests, and who have at length resolved to follow the suc-

cessful examples which have been too long set them by foreigners.*

Besides these great French mercantile houses, there were at Cadiz about thirty firms, in the retail trade, who formed with the others a national society, which was always an object of jealousy to the Spaniards, and often of the persecutions of the agents of government. This society had its funds, its meetings, and privileges, and sometimes assembled to consider the interests of its commerce under the auspices of the consul-general of its nation.

Cadiz contained nearly the same number of French milliners, and at least one hundred French mechanics of different professions.

All the French settled at Cadiz, as well as in other parts of Spain, felt the indignation which our revolution, at its very commencement, ex-

* This same treaty, that of Basle, seems in some measure to have cut off that source of prosperity for the French mercantile houses, which, however, was an inexhaustible subject of disputes between the two governments; since it stipulates, in Art. XI. That all French merchants are at liberty to resume their commercial establishments in Spain, and to form new ones if they think fit, *provided they submit, like all other individuals, to the laws and customs of the country*: a clause which seems incompatible with the continuation of the French national privileges, of which we were so tenacious, and which rendered a residence at Cadiz so profitable to mercantile men. Accordingly, there are at the present time not more than four or five French houses established in that city.

cited at the court of Madrid. In the month of July 1791, it enjoined all foreigners, without expressly mentioning the French, to take an oath of exclusive allegiance to the sovereign of the country, which amounted to the same thing as a renunciation of their country. The formula of this oath required them to abjure all the privileges of foreigners, "all relation and union with and dependence on the country in which they were born, upon pain of the galleys, absolute expulsion from the kingdoms of Spain, and confiscation of property, according to the condition of the persons, and the nature of the offence." This related to foreigners considered as domiciliated in Spain. With respect to those known by the denomination of *Trans-euntes*, they were enjoined to quit the royal residences, and forbidden to carry on any trade or profession in any part of the kingdom, without a special permission from the court.

There are few examples of the adoption of so rigid a measure by any power of Europe towards civilized nations. It might have been supposed, that the throne of Morocco and its barbarous principles were all at once transported to Madrid. Charles IV. is nevertheless a just and generous monarch; and notwithstanding what people have said on the subject, he is not inimical to the French. But Charles IV. gave

the sanction of his name to the measures of an irascible minister.

The schedule of this oath produced warm remonstrances from all quarters. Most foreigners, and in particular the English (who were then favoured, or rather feared, whereas we had not yet begun to appear formidable) easily obtained exceptions, or a favourable interpretation of the ordinance. Government was severe only with the real enemies, against whom it was directed. Its execution, however, was attended with so many difficulties, that various modifications were made, even in favour of the French. Many were sufferers by its operation. Some shrunk from the fury of the storm; but the majority hesitated not between their interest and their country, and France hailed the return of a considerable number of these respectable refugees to her maternal bosom. The French who remained in Spain, either because they were considered as *transeuntes*, or because they actually belonged to that class, were subjected to a more rigorous superintendence than ever. The government suffered treaties to be violated to their prejudice with impunity; perhaps encouraged these infractions, and was guilty of others itself. The French were abridged of most of their privileges. In many places, especially at Cadiz, their meetings were suspended; they were afterwards permitted again, but on condi-

tion that they should be held in the presence of the governor of the place. This amounted to a prohibition under a new form. In this precarious situation the French merchants lived in Spain, when the progress of the revolution began to alarm the neighbouring states. The throne was overturned, and the republic proclaimed. The horizon of Europe became more and more overcast, and the storm of war already began to burst over Spain. The Count d'Aranda, who was then prime minister, made some dignified, perhaps we ought to say haughty efforts to dispel it. His youthful successor, without professing the same principles, manifested, from the very commencement of his administration, pacific dispositions. In a few weeks I obtained a proof of their sincerity. An engagement of mutual neutrality was drawn up and reciprocally agreed to. It was on the point of being signed, when, in spite of the intercession of the court of Madrid, the blood of one who could not but be dear to it, was shed upon the scaffold. All negotiation was now at an end. I departed, without taking leave; but before I set off, I recommended those French whom I left behind me in Spain, if not to the favour at least to the justice of the Spanish monarch, and I received a most satisfactory answer.

Little could I have supposed that as soon as I had crossed the Pyrenees, my countrymen

would be exposed to one of the most violent persecutions that national animosity ever engendered. It is well known that, even before the war broke out, they received orders to evacuate Spain without delay ; that they were not allowed time to settle their affairs ; that many of them were not permitted to take away their effects ; that all their property, moveable and immoveable, and warehouses, were sequestered ; and that for several weeks the ports of Spain were crowded, and its roads covered, with proscribed Frenchmen, persecuted by orders which a sovereign, otherwise equitable and humane, was prevailed upon to issue.

By the title of *Junta de Represalias*, a council was appointed for the sole purpose of taking cognizance of every thing relative to the sequestration of the property of the expelled Frenchmen, and the indemnities claimed out of that property by subjects of the king of Spain. In the ordinance by which this council was constituted, in order to palliate at least the singularity of its object, an allusion was made to the practice which had been several times adopted during the past century on similar occasions. But let us draw a veil over the temporary injustice of misguided anger and fanaticism. I will not say that it was expiated by defeat, but shall merely observe, that the return of sincere harmony ought to cause it to be forgotten. Now

that Spain is acquainted with her true interests, and her necessary friends, she will not merely restore to the latter the property of which they were despoiled. Let us hope, that without waiting till a treaty of commerce, so frequently demanded, so long expected, and recently promised by our last treaty of alliance, shall at length be concluded, the French will be treated in that country, not with the jealousy and malevolence of a rival, but with the respect due to a close ally, and that they will be again put into the peaceful possession of their former privileges. The reader may perhaps inquire : And what were those privileges ?

They are ancient and formal ; they were confirmed and extended by the famous family compact, which, by means of our revolution, we have converted into a national compact. They have nevertheless, (be it remarked without irritation, if possible,) been scandalously infringed in almost every circumstance.

For the rest, the majority of them have not been granted exclusively to the French. They originated so far back as the period when the indolence of Spain laid her under the necessity of inviting foreigners to assist her with their capitals and their industry, and attaching them to her ports by treaties which were at that time reciprocally favourable, but which she finds

burdensome, since she has begun to awake from her lethargy.

The most ancient of these treaties is that concluded with the Hanse towns in 1647. It served as a model for those which she has subsequently entered into with the English, the Dutch, and the French. They grant to the merchants of those respective nations, the liberty of establishing commercial houses in the ports of Spain; of residing there under the protection of their consuls, in a kind of independence on the sovereign; of forming a national association; of erecting a particular tribunal for the decision of disputes relative to commerce, &c.

To these privileges the family compact, concluded at a period when the monarchs of France and Spain, without ever having seen each other, felt themselves animated by a strong reciprocal attachment, and when, above all, political motives urged them to a still closer connection of their interests—the family compact, I say, added some, which were granted exclusively to the French. It stipulated, among other conditions, that the French and Spaniards should not only be treated by each other as the most favoured nations, but likewise that the subjects of each of the two monarchs, should in the territory of the other be upon the same footing with his own subjects, in respect to

he duties on importation and exportation, should enjoy the same facilities to trade, &c. &c.

In practice, however, these privileges, common to most foreigners, were often infringed ; but even before the revolution, they were not more frequently violated in regard to any other nation than the French, because in general the latter have more, than any other foreigners, of that kind of industry which irritates, and of that kind of success which excites jealousy ; because Spain, since her attention has been turned to the revival of her manufactures, looks upon them as formidable rivals ; because the French possess an irresistible predilection and uncommon aptitude for smuggling, the everlasting bugbear of the exchequer ; because, finally, governments, like individuals, often vent their spleen upon their best friends, while their civilities are reserved for indifferent powers whom they dread, or to whom they think it their interest to shew indulgence.

Thus, while English ships, which, according to the terms of the treaties, ought to be searched on their arrival in Spanish ports, often eluded this formality, or escaped with a slight inspection, it was rigorously enforced in our vessels ; and it was often repeated at their expense, on the slightest suspicion of their having contraband goods on board.

Thus, though, according to the same treaties, this search was only to take place in the presence of the consul of our nation, the ships were often inspected before his arrival, and sometimes even before he had been sent for.

Thus, though the family compact expressly stipulates, that with respect to the facilities of carrying on trade, the French shall be upon the same footing with the Spaniards, it has been almost invariably appealed to without success, when the captains of our merchantmen have attempted to sail with cargoes of wine or corn from one port of Spain to another. Certain conventions posterior to this compact, intended to elucidate its obscure passages, have given occasion for new cavils. Of these the smuggling of piastres in particular proved a fertile source. From an ambiguous passage in the convention of 1774, it was argued, that such of our captains of ships as were detected in exporting contraband piastres ought to be treated like natives convicted of the same fraud; that is to say, not only the piastres should be seized, but the ship with the rest of her cargo should be confiscated, and the captain imprisoned: so that, in the rigorous application only of these conventions, were we assimilated with the Spaniards.

The two governments were, at length, sensible of the necessity of elucidating some of the

stipulations relative to our commerce ; and on the 24th of December, 1786, they entered into a new convention, in which every thing relative to smuggling is clearly expressed, and which, in all cases, limits the confiscation to the contraband articles alone.

As this convention relates only to cases of contraband, the search of ships, and some other objects of inferior importance, there is still reason to wish for the speedy conclusion of a treaty of commerce, which may be one of the principal elements of our future prosperity.

This treaty is so much the more necessary, as, during the last thirty years, the Spanish government, either with a view to increase the revenue, or to encourage the native commerce and industry, has made some violent attacks upon ours. Of these it may not be amiss to enumerate the principal.

In the first place, as early as the reign of Philip V. our privileges were refused to a great number of Frenchmen, under the pretext that they were not mere visitors, *transcuntes*, but that they were to be considered as domiciliated, and consequently treated as Spanish subjects. An ordinance was even issued in 1720, prescribing, by all sorts of restrictions the quality of *transcuntes*, the only one that Spain, weary of the privileges granted to foreigners, was now determined to admit. Numerous reasons

stances, arbitrary and often contradictory decisions, and uncertainty in the existence of most foreigners were the results of this ambiguity.

In 1779, in consequence of the remonstrances of several corporations, animated with the laudable desire of reviving the national industry and banishing indolence and poverty from their country, government renewed, to the great injury of our manufactures at Lyons, an obsolete ordinance issued in the reign of Philip IV. prohibiting the importation of all *manufactured goods*: a vague expression to which the officers of the customs soon gave a most vexatious latitude. In 1782, upon the pretext of consulting the prosperity of the native manufactures, and those of silk in particular, Spain composed a new tarif (*arancel*) which raised considerably the duties on most of the luxuries of French manufacture, and decreed the absolute prohibition of a great number. This tarif and these prohibitions were so loosely worded, as to leave a prodigious range for the malevolent caprice of the officers of the customs. Hence the risks that were incurred by our manufacturers who sent, and of our merchants resident in Spain who ordered goods, which, on their arrival at the Spanish custom-houses, were either detained till the procrastinated decisions of government should be known, or were sent back as comprehended in the prohibition.

Hence the failure of so many speculations, and numberless remonstrances, to whose authors the Spanish government scarcely ever did justice.

A few comparisons between the old tariff of 1770 and that of 1782, will be sufficient to shew the enormous increase in the duties established by the latter.

Our ribbons, whether plain, striped, or flowered, there was a duty of 240 maravedis per pound,* which was raised to 1530. Gauzes with gold flowers paid 18 maravedis per *vara*, and those with silver flowers 102. The tariff of 1782 fixed the lowest duty on those articles at 153, and raised it on some to 612 maravedis.

Different kinds of stuffs, bordered with spangles, which cost at Lyons about 30 livres tournois per *vara*, were subjected by the same tariff to a duty of 96 reals, or 24 livres. Was not this tantamount to a prohibition, or rather an encouragement to the fraudulent importation of these articles?

I could mention twenty such like examples of malevolence, or fiscal rapacity.

Spain, however, did not even stop here. She seemed to have rather conspired to crush our manufactures, than to have afforded encouragement to her own. In consequence of a particular arrangement concluded in 1698 with

* Thirty-four maravedis, make a real which is equal to about 2½d. English...

Eminente, who then farmed the customs at Cadiz, we paid but a moderate duty for our linens of Bretagne, which enabled them to maintain a competition with those of Silesia, inferior in quality, but likewise cheaper than ours, and of course more tempting to the consumer. "The result was, that some of our linens paid only five parts and a quarter of their value, while the Silesian linens of the same quality paid from ten to twelve. We continued in the unmolested enjoyment of this indulgence, precarious enough it is true, since we had neglected to convert it into a right, by requiring its insertion in our different treaties with Spain. It could not have been supposed that, at the conclusion of a war, which was carried on in conjunction with her, and which ought to have attached us more closely to each other, she would have deprived us, as she did in 1783, of a favour which encouraged one of the principal branches of our industry, and have put our linens on a level with those of all other foreign countries. Against this innovation, several remonstrances were made at different times, but always without effect.

In other respects, the tariff of 1782 has so raised the duties on all foreign merchandize, and so many fresh ones have been imposed, that some of these articles pay 80 and even 90 per cent. of their value before they reach the interior of Spain, and none less than 30. Since the peace of Basle, some modifications

have been made in this excessive increase of the duties; but much yet remains to be done. The tariff of 1782, especially with the additions made to it in 1802 is incompatible with the easy circulation of the productions of French industry, upon which the regulations posterior to this tariff bear particularly hard.

It was forbidden, in the first place, to ship for America any woollen cloths of foreign manufacture, as if those made in Spain had been adequate to the demand. The inconvenience of this prohibition was soon felt. It was altered in such a manner that each cargo of cloth exported to America might contain one third of foreign manufacture. This regulation was still insufficient; it was often eluded, from interest or necessity, and consequently proved a fertile source of fraud and chicanery.

In 1789 Spain likewise excluded all foreign stockings and ribbons without exception from the trade with the Indies. The same year of too tardy reflection produced an exception in favour of thread stockings, provided they constituted no more than half of the cargoes of that article shipped for India; a restriction which rendered the exception nearly nugatory.

The manufactures of foreign hats have likewise suffered considerably of late years from the prohibitory system of Spain. She has absolutely forbidden the sale of them at Madrid, and excluded all except beaver hats from the

imported into the rest of the monarchy are subjected to exorbitant duties, beaver hats being charged 21 reals, and all others 14. Finally, silk-stockings have been one of the principal objects of these prohibitions. All white ones have been excluded from the colonies, and even from the mother country; but it is well known that the manufacturers of Catalonia find it to their interest to facilitate the importation of French stockings into Spain, by affixing to them the marks of their manufacture.

For a considerable time the manufactures of Languedoc, and those of Nîmes in particular, were permitted to furnish stockings for the ladies of Peru. They had frames made expressly for this purpose, in which they manufactured stockings with large, coloured clocks; but the Spaniards took it into their heads that they could supply the Peruvian females with articles adapted to their taste. They set up frames for making this kind of stockings; they first flattered themselves that they could rival, and soon afterwards entirely supplant, the French manufacturers; and the government all at once decreed the exclusion of the stockings of the latter from the market of Peru. The manufacturers of Nîmes of course found themselves overstocked with a commodity which had no sale but in Peru, and prodigious quantities which they had forwarded to Cadiz were returned upon their hands. In vain they in 1792 appealed to the principles of good faith, and

stated the prodigious loss with which they were threatened. Their remonstrances shared the ill-will with which the French began to be treated; and when the rupture broke out, between two and three hundred thousand dozen of these stockings were sequestered in the magazines of the custom-house of Cadiz.

It is worthy of the equity of the Spanish government, it is consonant with the good understanding which has been more firmly established than ever between the two nations, to abstain in future from prohibitory regulations, which, taking at unawares those included in their operation, are liable to involve them in ruin. Governments possess the undoubted right of adopting such measures as they think proper, in order to encourage their commerce and manufactures; but if they are wise they will refrain from these surprizes, which bear the stamp of perfidy, and which infallibly tend to alienate the confidence of commercial nations, and to encourage and even excuse smuggling.

Smuggling, a word which is alone sufficient to make the Spanish government shudder, has not a more brilliant theatre than the port of Cadiz. It cannot fail to be naturalized wherever prohibitions are numerous, and the temptations to infringe them frequent and highly alluring; wherever the profits which it affords are considerable enough to be shared with those, who, being but indifferently paid to prevent, find it much more to their interest to connive at these

proceedings. Accordingly the contraband trade has not upon the whole any more active or faithful agents than the lower class of custom-house officers. The customs at Cadiz are under the superintendence of a director, who is in general extremely rigid. The same cannot always be said of the eight inspectors, or *vistas*, who are subordinate to him, and whose duty it is to examine the goods exported or imported, to value them and charge them according to this estimate. It is unnecessary to observe how arbitrary all these operations are, and how many resources fraud discovers, especially when the persons appointed to prevent it become its accomplices. All Europe might learn a useful lesson on this subject at Cadiz. The severity of the director is of no avail in opposition to the artifices of so many agents conspired against him. In 1785, this place was held by Don Francisco Vallejo, a man equally distinguished for rigour and integrity. The abuses which he complained of, but did not repress, occasioned the appointment of a committee of inquiry. The rapacity and dishonesty of the officers of the customs were punished, and that department of the revenue was regenerated. Every branch of it was to be reformed, and the contraband trade was to be utterly annihilated by the energy and vigilance of authority. These brilliant expectations have been disappointed. Vallejo was soon afterwards superseded by Don Jorge

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Francisco Estada, who was more rigid, if possible, than his predecessor. But smuggling is a plant which strikes deep root in the soil in which it is once naturalized; in vain you may cut down its stem to a level with the ground; it soon sends forth fresh shoots. Those engaged in this traffic conceal themselves in the moment of danger. No sooner is it over than interest resumes its old habits and cupidity its former boldness. Such, in spite of the severity of Estada, was the state of the contraband trade in 1793.

If since that time it has somewhat diminished, the reason is, because the opportunities for carrying it on have been less frequent. The long continuance of one of our squadrons at Cadiz, could not fail to encourage its efforts, but it never prospers except when commerce flourishes. The commerce of Cadiz suffered severely from the war in which Spain engaged: it has sustained still greater injury from the two successive wars in which she has been involved with England: but let the return of peace give new life to commerce, and we shall doubtless see the contraband trade appear again in its train, in spite of the vigilance and severity of the present director of the customs, Don Pedro Mendinueta.

Cadiz is incontestably the most opulent and one of the finest cities in Spain. Though it is not large, and its situation prevents its further

extension, it contained in 1799 a population of 75,000 souls. It was diminished by the destructive contagion which raged in the following year. The disease attacked almost all the inhabitants of this ill-fated city. It was observed that most of those who were born in the West India islands or in Spanish America escaped its influence; that it was not quite so dangerous to the old inhabitants as to those who had recently settled at Cadiz; and that the majority of foreigners fell victims to its fury. It was likewise remarked that it raged with much greater virulence among men than among persons of the other sex. This difference was likewise observed in 1804. It was asserted to have been in the proportion of 48 to one; and the extreme inequality of the two sexes, which was perceived in the churches, in the public walks, and assemblies, seemed to confirm the accuracy of this calculation. It was between the 12th of August and the 31st of October that the contagion committed the greatest ravages at Cadiz. During this interval, it attacked 47,350 persons, and carried off 7,195 of that number, exclusive of the troops, who had recently arrived for the defence of the coast, and who alone lost 3,000 men.

Winter seemed not to check this calamity, as had been hoped. Cadiz and the other cities of Andalusia were not wholly free from it till the end of April 1801. Every measure tending to prevent the spreading of the contagion was re-

sorted to. Every apartment and every place to which it had penetrated, was whitewashed and fumigated. Care was taken to burn the clothes and the goods of the infected, and to inter the dead at a considerable distance from the city, and in graves of sufficient depth.

The unfortunate inhabitants of Cadiz might have mournfully applied to themselves these energetic lines in which Roucher describes the ravages of the plague at Marseilles :

— chaque instant voyait hors des murailles
S'avancer tout rempli le char de funérailles
Nulle voix ne suivait ce mobile tombeau.
Sans parens, sans amis, sans prêtre, sans flambeau,
Solitaire il marchait à ces monceaux livides :
Une fosse profonde ouvrait ses flancs avides,
Et dans son large sein, les cadavres versés
Y tombaient en roulant l'un sur l'autre entassés.

When the contagion was at its height, in September and October, 1800, from 140 to 170 persons died every day at Cadiz. During this dreadful calamity, M. de Morla, the governor of the city, displayed the greatest zeal and activity, and manifested repeated proofs of the most courageous devotion to the public welfare. He neglected no means to procure proper attendance for the sick, and to check the progress of the infection, which was, at the same time, making terrible ravages in the adjacent places, at Port St. Mary, the Isla de Leon, and Rota. The gates of Cadiz were kept closely shut. They were not opened even for such of the inhabitants as had fled on the first alarm from the city, and were

desirous of returning. The contagion extended to Chiclana, Puerto Real, and St. Lucar. It even spread to Xerez, Seville, and by degrees over the whole province of Andalusia. A cordon was placed along the foot of the Sierra Morena, and was not withdrawn till the spring of 1801, after it had been ascertained that every part of the country was free from the infection.

About the end of September, 1801, a new alarm was excited. At Medina Sidonia, and in its neighbourhood, several putrid fevers appeared, but it was soon discovered that they were not of an epidemical nature. No contagious symptoms were again observed till towards the end of the summer of 1804, when the yellow fever, called *vomito negro*, broke out at Malaga in the most terrific manner. It extended its ravages along the coasts of the Mediterranean, to Carthagena, Alicante, and even to the vicinity of Barcelona. It proved particularly fatal at Gibraltar, where, in the month of October, 120 persons daily died. Cadiz could not entirely escape this new scourge, but it was much less destructive, and also of shorter duration, than the former. The greatest mortality amounted for a few days only to 70 or 72.

These two calamities following so closely upon each other, together with the considerable emigration which they occasioned, at first seemed to have produced a great diminution in the population of Cadiz. It appeared to be reduced to fifty thousand souls; but the cessation of the

alarm, the return of the emigrants, and other causes, have rapidly raised it to nearly the same point at which it stood in 1799; and so early as the end of 1804, it was estimated at the lowest, at 70,000 souls.

It would have been impossible for such a large number of people to find habitations in a space so circumscribed by nature, had not the greatest economy in respect to ground been observed. Accordingly, all the streets of Cadiz, except a few, such as the *calle ancha*, are narrow, and the height of the houses makes them in general dark; but the city is kept remarkably clean, extremely well paved and lighted, and adorned with handsome ramparts, which serve for a public walk. The proximity of the sea renders the heat much more supportable than it is at Madrid.

The emporium of the wealth of two worlds, Cadiz possesses almost every thing in abundance. With the exception of water, you there meet with all the necessities and conveniences of life; and in the near view of verdant meads and fertile corn-fields, you find all its charms. Those, however, which result from intellectual cultivation would be sought in vain. Pleasure, in the strictest sense of the word, absorbs all the physical faculties, and commercial calculations all the powers of the mind. The one is accounted for and excused by the climate; the other is the result of a concurrence of circumstances to which Cadiz principally owes its prosperity and importance.

CHAP. VIII.

Industry of Cadiz and its Environs—Linens—Salt works—Bay of Cadiz—Road from Cadiz to Chiclana—Chiclana and Algeiras—Observations on the Agriculture of Spain.

THOUGH commercial speculations, either lawful or illicit, almost exclusively absorb the whole capitals and attention of the inhabitants of Cadiz and its environs, manufactures, however, are not totally neglected. There are at Cadiz about twenty looms for silk ribbons and netting, which do very little, and yet have a great demand for their reputed productions. It is certain that the principal employment of these manufacturers is to put their mark upon articles imported from other countries. It is in this way that the stockings of Nîmes are shipped as Spanish, for the Indies.

At Port St. Mary, at the Island of Leon, and at Xerez, there are linen manufactures, which for some years have been in a flourishing state. No linens but these, and those of Catalonia can legally be shipped for the Indies; but to judge how this law is evaded, it will be sufficient to compare the quantity of goods exported to

America, with what these manufactures are capable of furnishing.

There is at Port St. Mary an establishment for bleaching wax, through which all the foreign wax sent to America ought to pass. This, however, is almost always evaded by the gratuitous payment of two ducats, the sum required for each quintal of wax bleached there.

Some years since, the Spaniards at the Havannah had the prospect of being able to furnish wax sufficient for the consumption of the colonies. On the cession of Florida to the English, in 1763, some Spanish colonists retired to the Island of Cuba, taking with them a number of bee-hives. The bees had increased prodigiously in this new country, to which they had come in quest of an asylum from the conquerors, as people driven by persecution from their native soil carry with them its treasures and its industry. But they found new persecutors at the Havannah. Alarmed at the mischief which they did to the sugar plantations, the colonists kindled fires to keep them away. This expedient succeeded so well, that the island of Cuba, forsaken by the bees, produced no more honey, and was again obliged to have recourse for its supply of wax to Barbary, Poland, and Hanover.

It will probably be asked, if the commerce of Cadiz has sensibly diminished, as the jealousy

of its inhabitants predicted in 1780. To this we must reply in the negative: their predictions have not been accomplished, neither indeed was it likely that they should be. Cadiz is so advantageously situated, so opulent, in such complete possession of the direct trade with Spanish America, that it has no occasion for a long time to fear the competition of any of the other ports. Those however of Catalonia and Valencia, derived, especially in 1789, a great advantage from their situation. The government had recently directed that at least one third of the cargo of every vessel bound to America should consist of national commodities. The above-mentioned ports, having an opportunity of exporting wine, brandy, silks, and printed cottons, seemed for some time to obtain a superiority over Cadiz in this respect. But as the manufacturers of Catalonia and Valencia could not continue to furnish such large supplies, or give such long credit, the merchants of Cadiz, whose abilities are equal to these efforts, have regained their former advantages.

One of the most extensive and the least hazardous of their speculations, is the exportation of foreign linens to America. They consist almost exclusively of those of Bretagne, Silesia, and Ireland. In 1787 and 1788, it was observed, that the demand for those of Bretagne

had rather increased than diminished, but not so much as that for the Silesian linens. The sale of Irish linens, which hold a middle place between the two others, has been of late years warmly encouraged by the English government. Those of France kept their ground only by their excellent quality ; but we are informed that they had latterly met with very formidable rivals in the Silesian linens, in the manufacture of which great improvements have been made, as likewise in those of Westphalia.

The tables of the foreign commodities exported from Cadiz in the years 1792 and 1793, will afford an idea of the importance of the linen trade to that city.

Out of a total of one hundred and sixty-four millions of reals, the article of foreign silks amounts to eight or nine millions, that of woollens to twenty-two or twenty-three, and the value of the linens alone exceeds one hundred millions.

The total amount of national commodities was not then on an equality with that of the foreign productions, but was gradually approaching towards it. In 1790, it scarcely exceeded one hundred and two millions of reals. In 1791 and 1792, it was between one hundred and fifteen, and one hundred and twenty ; and out of this total, the value of the silks was upwards of

sixty millions, of woollen stuffs near sixteen millions, and that of the goods manufactured from hemp and flax between seventeen and eighteen millions. In 1792, an idea began to be entertained that Spain was capable of supplying her colonies with all the fine cloths they wanted of the first and second quality, but not with the inferior stuffs. At the same period she was importing foreign silks to the value of between twenty-four and twenty-six millions of reals.

In order to afford, as briefly as possible, an idea of the prodigious extent of the commerce of Cadiz, it will be sufficient to observe, that in 1792, its exports to the Indies amounted to two hundred and seventy-six millions, and its imports exceeded seven hundred millions of reals.

The capitals and credit which are necessary for such extensive concerns, must alone ensure to Cadiz, for a considerable time, the enjoyment of its mercantile prosperity. A proof that it has not lately fallen off is, that in 1802 this city contained upwards of three hundred wholesale mercantile houses, among which there were much fewer foreign ones than formerly.

The manufacture of salt is one of the most productive branches of industry in the environs of Cadiz. The salt pits border all that part of the bay between the Puntal and Port St.

Mary. The manner of making salt in them is as follows.

By means of a little sluice the sea water is first introduced into a capacious bason, crossed by large canals of equal depth. Here it remains a certain time, during which the lightest parts are evaporated by the heat of the sun. From this first reservoir it is drawn off into other canals, not quite so deep, where it undergoes the same process. By this time it has become so sharp, that the workmen cannot stand in it with their bare feet, without burning them as if they had been dipped into aquafortis. In this state it is conducted into a long narrow canal, which runs by the side of a square space, divided into quadrangular compartments or basons. From this canal, where it is exposed a third time to the action of the sun, it is thrown into small basons. Here it is heated for the last time; and the workmen keep constantly stirring it with long rakes. The sediment which it deposits, becomes as hard as stone, if it be suffered to acquire consistence; and it is in the operations of breaking, taking out, and pounding it, that the workmen are continually engaged. This incessant agitation produces on the surface a white scum, which is carefully taken off, and yields a white salt, but much weaker than what is formed at the bottom. All the rest is thrown into large heaps in the open air. From these the king takes the quantity

necessary for his salt magazines, at the rate of two piastres per last of two hogsheads; but he sells it again at one hundred and twenty piastres, to all persons except fishermen, who obtain it cheaper. The salt manufacturers sell what they have left as they please, and dispose of it as speedily as possible, for fear of the autumnal rains.

This salt is exported by the Swedes, the Danes, the Dutch, the English, and particularly by the Portuguese. The latter carry the greatest part of their cargoes to the coasts of Galicia and the Asturias, which they have long been in the habit of supplying exclusively with their own salt. The fishermen of St. Malo, Dieppe, and Grandville, sometimes go to the bay of Cadiz to load with salt for Newfoundland; and when the salt pits of France fail, the French take off large quantities from the same place for their home consumption.

Every individual that pleases is at liberty to form one of these artificial salt pits on his own ground. He may dispose of the produce to foreigners, but not to natives of the country; salt being in Spain sold exclusively for the king's account. Guards are stationed round the heaps, but they are not always able to secure them from thieves and smugglers.

Cadiz, like most large commercial cities, contains few monuments of the arts. Of late

years, however, some handsome edifices have been erected, but the greater number of them belong to foreigners. The old Italian opera-house has been converted into a place of resort for the lovers of news and of fashionable amusements. It is called the *Camorra*; its apartments are spacious, but perhaps overloaded with ornaments. The custom-house is a new building of a very good appearance. The national theatre is planned with taste. The new cathedral, begun in 1722, had cost in 1769 upwards of four millions and a half of reals, and will cost two millions of piastres before it is finished. Notwithstanding this heavy expense, and the magnificence, of its decorations, the inelegance of the plan on which it was begun, will for ever prevent its being considered a master-piece.

Another sacred edifice, the defects of which are still more striking, is the church of San Antonio, designed for an ornament to the beautiful square of the same name, but which it only serves to disfigure.

In the church of the Capuchins, the traveller will find an *Ecce homo*, by Murillo, and several other master-pieces of his school.

A foreigner, on his arrival at Cadiz, never fails to inquire for the Exchange of such a celebrated commercial city; and with astonishment he learns that it has none. It might be sup-

posed that its inhabitants look upon the god of commerce in the light of one of those deities, whose majesty the ancient Germans thought it impious to pretend to circumscribe within walls of stone, and who could not be duly worshipped except under the canopy of heaven. At the same time the almost invariable serenity of the climate sufficiently accounts for a circumstance apparently so strange.

The walls which surround Cadiz contribute more to its embellishment than to its defence. The fortifications towards the land gate are in good condition. The entrance to the great bay would be very imperfectly defended by Fort St. Catharine on one side, and Fort St. Sebastian on the other. The lines of fire of these forts do not cross each other. One is situated on the continent opposite to Cadiz; the other is connected with the city by a very rugged beach, which is covered at high water. Upon its tower is placed the light that directs vessels entering the port.

The passage from the great bay into that of the Puntales is much better defended by the two forts of Matagordo and San Lorenzo, placed opposite each other, at the narrowest part of the bay. (Pl. XVI.)

It is the strait protected by these two forts that you cross to go to Chiclana, a place of recreation for the inhabitants of Cadiz. The situa-

tion of their city, almost entirely surrounded by the sea, deprives them of the pleasures of riding and walking. Half a league from the land gate, sterility again commences and prevails throughout a tract of several leagues, with the exception of a few kitchen gardens and orchards, contiguous to the Island of Leon, where the soil has been improved by irrigation.

To make themselves amends for this privation of verdure, the citizens of Cadiz repair in summer to Chiclana. With a favourable wind and tide, you may go thither from Cadiz in two hours. Leaving the Island of Leon to the right, and La Carraca to the left, you pass under the bridge of Suaço, which joins the whole island, on the north west part of which Cadiz is situated, to the continent. At this bridge the bay grows so narrow, that beyond this point, it is nothing but a broad canal, which soon afterwards separates into several branches. One of these conducts to Chiclana, a handsome village, built on the right bank of this canal, and commanded by several eminences, and by the ruins of an ancient Moorish castle.

Here many of the merchants of Cadiz have country houses. They have embellished and surrounded them with that verdure, of which, they are deprived in the city where they reside. In the two seasons of spring and autumn, Chiclana is particularly full of company.

The ladies of Cadiz, who, with all the fascinations of Andalusian females, combine that elegance of manners which is acquired by associating with foreigners, the amiable *Gaditanas*, bring thither for a few weeks all the pleasures of the city; splendid entertainments, balls, concerts, all the display of opulence, all the efforts of the toilette. It may be looked upon as a theatre opened by luxury and taste, to which the deepest speculators repair to smooth their brows, furrowed by calculations; and to be reminded, from time to time, that there are things still more precious than gold.

From the eminences which command the valley of Chiclana, the eye embraces at one view the island of Leon, Cadiz, the bay, all the places by which it is surrounded, and the sea beyond it. You follow the course of the river Santi Petri to its mouth. Turning to the east, you perceive Medina Sidonia, whence comes the *solano*, likewise denominated the wind of Medina, so dreaded by the inhabitants of Cadiz, because it seems to bring with it crimes and disorders into that city. From the same point of view you likewise survey the vast plains of the southern part of Andalusia, which we are about to traverse on our way to Algeziras and thence to Gibraltar.

The distance from Chiclana to Algeziras is fourteen leagues. I performed the journey on

the same horse, in one long summer's day, and found the country more thinly inhabited than perhaps any region which is not entirely uncultivated. I went, it is true, across the plains, avoiding circuitous roads which would have led through some villages. But the reader will scarcely believe me when I assure him, that with the exception of Véjer, which I perceived on my right, and Medina Sidonia on my left, the only habitations I met with in this whole journey were four or five groups of the miserable huts called *cortijos*, in which labouring people reside during part of the year.

For ten leagues out of these fourteen, the road leads through the domains of the duke of Medina Sidonia, consisting entirely of corn-fields and pasturage. In no part of them is there the least vestige of a human habitation; not an orchard, a kitchen garden, a ditch, or a stile. The great proprietor seems to reign there like the lion in the forest, by driving away all who would otherwise approach him. Instead of human inhabitants, I met with seven or eight numerous colonies of horned cattle and some troops of mares. On seeing them unshackled by yoke or bridle, roving at pleasure over a space unbounded, as far as the eye can reach, by enclosure or barrier, the traveller is disposed to fancy himself in the first ages of the world, when the animals in a state

of independence, divided with man the empire of the earth, found every where their own property, and were not themselves the property of any person.

Andalusia is thus deserted in almost all the districts devoted exclusively to the cultivation of corn and pasturage. It has been divided into immense possessions ever since the period of its conquest from the Moors. The principal Castilian noblemen who accompanied the victorious monarchs, obtained grants of prodigious tracts in perpetuity, according to the fatal custom introduced throughout almost the whole monarchy. The extinction of the males in many families is continually aggravating this inconvenience. Rich heiresses transfer their ample portions into families not less opulent ; so that in time, the greatest part of the landed property in Spain, may devolve to the few families that shall survive the others. As a single individual cannot manage such vast estates, they are let to different persons, but for the short space of three or at most of five years. Another circumstance concurs with these pernicious customs to prevent the improvement of agriculture in Andalusia. The land is divided into three portions ; one is cultivated, another remains fallow, and the third, which is set apart to feed the cattle of the farmer, is augmented by him as much as pos-

sible, that he may reap all the advantage he can from his short lease. This it is that gives an appearance of depopulation to extensive districts, susceptible of the highest cultivation. The first improvement to be made in the agriculture of Andalusia would therefore be, to grant longer leases. The example of Catalonia, Galicia, and the Asturias, should serve as a lesson. There leases are granted for a long term of years, and cannot be broken by the caprice of the proprietors; there too every branch of agriculture is in a flourishing state. Each farmer creates for himself a little establishment; he takes pains to fertilize and embellish the land, which he is sure of holding for a considerable time. What a contrast between this picture and the appearance of the country for the ten leagues after leaving Chiclana!

At the end of these ten leagues you begin to climb the steep ascent of the enormous chain of mountains, which terminates at the west coast of the bay of Gibraltar. From their summit you perceive the famous promontory rising from the bosom of the waves, like the genius of the cape of storms described by Camoens (Pl. XVII.) The eye commands the fortress, the outlines of which when the weather is serene may be clearly distinguished in the horizon. It embraces in the same view the town of Algeziras, the whole circum-

ference of the bay, two small rivers which fall into it, the town of St. Roch, the descent leading from it to the lines of the same name, and the flat and narrow neck of land which separates them from Gibraltar; and in the distance to the right, if you cannot distinctly discern, you may at least imagine the indentations of the African coast.

CHAP. IX.

Algeziras—Lines and Camp of St. Roch—Particulars relative to the Floating Batteries—Appearance of Gibraltar.

ALGEZIRAS, at the end of the fourteen leagues which separate Chiclana from the bay of Gibraltar, is a town agreeably situated on an easy slope close by the sea side. A very small river, La Miel, which rises in the neighbouring mountains, washes it on one side, and gently falls into the bay. On its right bank is a little dock-yard, where some of the gun-boats employed in the siege of Gibraltar were built. At the time of the freshes, it has water enough to float these small vessels to the sea, which is but a few paces distant. Close to it are the ruins of the ancient citadel of Algeziras, where the Moors defended themselves for some time after their town was taken. Algeziras, as well as St. Roch, is peopled with the descendants of the Spanish inhabitants of Gibraltar, who would not live under the dominion of the English. In order to entice refugees from that place, the government conferred on the town

of Algeziras the privileges which it still enjoys.

Facing Algeziras, and very near the shore, is situated the very small island of Palomas, also called the Green Island. It has a fort in which a detachment from the garrison of Algeziras does duty. It is so regular, and so diminutive, that you would suppose it had been built for an ornament to an English garden.

Algeziras is watered in a splendid manner. Water is conveyed thither, from the distance of a quarter of a league, by an aqueduct of hewn stone.

A packet-boat sails twice a week from this town for Ceuta, a Spanish sea-port, at the distance of five leagues, on the coast of Africa, opposite to Algeziras: this voyage is often performed in three or four hours, but sometimes takes nine or ten. The passage costs only four reals each person; no great sum to be carried from one quarter of the world to another.

The commercial speculations in which the little port of Algeziras is engaged, are of a very limited extent. It receives a few cargoes of corn and brandy by Catalonian vessels, and its exports chiefly consist of charcoal from the neighbouring mountains.

For a great part of the two leagues between Algeziras and St. Roch, the road leads along the side of the bay. You are ferried across

two small rivers which fall into it, el Rio de los Pulmones and the Guaraïpe, which might be taken for an arm of the sea. After passing the latter, you leave the bay and ascend the back of the hill, on which stands St. Roch, an ill-paved town of miserable appearance, but the environs of which are agreeable and highly cultivated.

Two years after the peace it was no easy matter to pass the lines of St. Roch. An express order, originating in the puerile vexation of the minister Florida Blanca, had been issued to prevent all communication between Gibraltar and the Spanish continent. I, however, obtained permission of the commandant of the lines to approach Gibraltar. I set off on horseback with an aid-major of the place. Leaving on our left to Buena Vista, a large house on an eminence, where general Crillon and his staff resided, and which commands a view of Gibraltar,* the two seas and the coasts of Africa. We arrived on the spot occupied by

* The Moors, on their arrival in Spain, gave to the ancient Mount Calpe, one of the pillars of Hercules, the name of Ghiblaltath, which has been transformed into Gibraltar, which in their language signifies the mountain of the entrance. By this appellation they distinguished Mount Calpe, because they looked upon it as the key of the straits by which the ocean communicates with the Mediterranean. It actually proved the key which opened to them the door of Spain.

the celebrated camp of St. Roch. Destroyed by peace, as many other human establishments are by war, it exhibited, after an interval of two years, nothing but a heap of ruins.

We crossed it diagonally, to go straight to the Mediterranean, and to follow the coast to Fort St. Barbe, which forms the right of the lines. On shewing the order with which we were furnished, the great gate leading from the lines to the fortress was opened, and a petty officer was sent with us to watch, rather than to direct our motions.

We discovered the traces of the works of the besiegers, the trenches and epaulements of General Alvarez, which made so much noise in the newspapers of Madrid; the large stone tower, called the Tower of the Mill, which, placed between the besieged and the besiegers, was the only object that had escaped their combined ravages; and the site of the little gardens which the English had been permitted to make before their fortress, beyond the limits within which they were confined by the peace of Utrecht.

After proceeding for some time along the shores of the bay, we crossed over to the side of the Mediterranean, that we might survey nearer and in different points of view, that rock, which, for five years, had been the object of so many speculations; but with so rigid a

conductor as ours, we durst not advance beyond a very small tower, close to the water, near which the first English picquet is stationed. On this side, the rock is covered with batteries; the line of fire of most of them is nearly perpendicular. Here we were shewn the mouth of a mine, which the duke de Crillon had formed within the rock, and by which he intended to revenge the destruction of the floating batteries, when peace obliged him to desist, and placed the fortress in a state of security.

This was not the only point, which M. de Crillon had secretly prepared to attack. On the Mediterranean side, the rock, though perpendicular, does not continue so to the surface of the earth. Between the foot of the mountain and the sea, there is a kind of path which leads to point Europa. At the beginning of this path, the French general had made a second hollow in the rock.

Notwithstanding the sarcasms occasioned by these two secret attempts against Gibraltar, I have been assured, by persons who were present, that when General Elliot, after the cessation of hostilities, walked with M. de Crillon about this place, he appeared surprised at the progress made in the first of these mines, and observed, that if he had known this circumstance, he should not have been so easy. Whether the

British hero was perfectly sincere in this declaration, or it was only a trait of French politeness, is a question which I shall not pretend to decide.

In my opinion, it will be much more to the purpose, to present the reader with a brief account, derived from authentic sources, of the grand enterprize which engaged the attention of all Europe, and had such a fatal termination.

The court of Spain, weary of the fruitless blockade of Gibraltar, which excited the ridicule of all Europe, and of the besieged themselves, seriously determined to take this fortress by some extraordinary expedient or other, against which its steepness, its formidable artillery, and all the skill of General Elliot, should prove unavailing. Plans poured in from all quarters; some bold to extravagance, others so whimsical, that it was scarcely possible to look upon them as serious. Several of this kind I received myself. One of those sent to the ministers, formally proposed to throw up, in front of the lines of St. Roch, a prodigious mount, higher than Gibraltar, which would consequently deprive that fortress of its principal means of defence. The author had calculated the quantity of cubic fathoms of earth, the number of hands, and the time that would be required by this enormous undertaking, and proved that it would be less expensive and less

destructive than the prolongation of the siege upon the plan on which it had been begun.

Another proposed to fill the bombs with a substance so strongly mephitic, that, on bursting in the fortress, they would either put to flight or poison the besieged with their exhalations.

The plan of d'Arçon was at length presented, and engaged the more serious attention of the Spanish government.

This plan, first projected at a distance from Gibraltar by that engineer, who, notwithstanding the issue of that famous siege, still enjoyed the reputation of a man of great talents, was afterwards matured and modified by him within sight of the fortress. But how many crosses was he doomed to experience! French impatience, national jealousy, the intrigues of rivalry, the suspicious alarms of authority, the pretensions of self-love, the thoughtless impetuosity of some of his colleagues, the perfidious plots of others, the presumptuous improvidence of almost all, conspired to frustrate a plan, which though so unsuccessful, those persons cannot forbear admiring who have had an opportunity to study all its details.

Scarcely any thing is known respecting it, except what relates to the ten floating batteries, which, on the 13th of September, 1782, foolishly exposed themselves to the fire of Gibraltar, and were reduced to ashes by the red-hot

shot from the English batteries. This method of summing up the results of enterprizes, is very convenient for indolence or malignity, but would furnish history with very erroneous elements. Enlightened by cotemporary memoirs, her pages will inform posterity, that if this great undertaking failed, it was from a concurrence of circumstances which the genius of d'Arçon could not possibly control. One of the principal was the hurry with which the plan was put in execution before all the necessary preparations had been made for ensuring its success. It is well known that the ten batteries had been so constructed as to present, to the fire of the fortress one side covered with blinds three feet thick, and kept continually wet by a very ingenious contrivance. The red-hot balls were thus expected to be extinguished on the spot where they penetrated; but this first measure proved incomplete. The awkwardness of the caulkers prevented the working of the pumps which were designed to keep up the humidity. It succeeded only on board one of them, the Talla-piedra, and that very imperfectly. But this was not all; though the place where they were to take their stations had been but very slightly sounded, they had received instructions what course they were to pursue, in order to avoid striking, and to place themselves at a proper distance. This precaution likewise, proved un-

availing. Don Ventura Moreno, a brave seaman, but incapable of combining and executing a plan, stung to the quick by a letter sent him in the evening of the 12th of September, by General Crillon, which contained this expression: "If you do not make an attack, you are a man without honour:"—hastened the departure of the batteries, and placed them in an order contrary to the plan which had been adopted. The difference between these two positions contributed more than any thing else to the result of the day. In Plate XVIII. is shewn the part of the fortress against which the batteries were intended to act, the position which they ought to have taken and that which they actually occupied.

In consequence of this mistake, no more than two could station themselves at the concerted distance of two hundred fathoms. These were the *Pastora*, commanded by Moreno himself; and the *Talla-piedra*, on board of which were the prince of Nassau and d'Arçon; but they were exposed to the fire of the most formidable battery, that of the Royal Bastion, instead of all ten being drawn up around the old mole, and receiving only sideways the fire of that battery.

The only two batteries which occupied this dangerous post made great havoc and sustained dreadful loss. The *Talla-piedra* received a fatal shot. In spite of all precautions, a red-

hot ball penetrated to the dry part of the vessel. Its effect was very slow. The Tallapiedra had opened her fire about ten in the morning; the ball struck her between three and five. The mischief did not appear irremediable till midnight. The San Juan, one of her next neighbours, shared the same fate. It appears certain, that the eight others remained untouched.

But what was still more distressing, every thing was wanting at once:—cables to tow off the batteries in case of accident, and boats to receive the wounded. The attack was to have been supported by ten ships and upwards of sixty gun-boats. Neither boats, gun-boats, nor ships made their appearance.

Lastly, according to the projected position, the gun-boats were to have been seconded by the one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon at the lines of St. Roch. This co-operation was rendered impracticable. Near four hundred pieces of artillery were to have opened at once upon North Bastion, Montagu Bastion, and Orange Bastion. With a superiority of near three hundred pieces, d'Arçon flattered himself that he should be able to silence the artillery of the fortress. What was his consternation when he found that the besiegers had no more than sixty or seventy pieces to oppose

to more than two hundred and eighty belonging to the besieged.

The combined squadron remained quiet spectators of this tremendous scene. Guichen who commanded the French ships sent to offer assistance to Moreno, who replied that he had no occasion for any.

Matters continued to grow worse and no remedy could be devised. Eight of the ten batteries were at too great a distance to do or to sustain much injury ; the two others bore in their bosom the elements of destruction. Moreno, despairing of being able to save any of them, and resolving that they should not fall into the hands of the English, directed that those which were already in flames should be suffered to burn, and that all the others should be set on fire. I have seen the original order to this effect. Such was the result of that day, on which were annihilated ten vessels, the master-pieces of human ingenuity, the building of which had cost three millions of livres, and whose artillery, anchors, cables, rigging, &c. amounted to near two millions and a half more.*

* The worthy d'Arnon, in the first moment of his consternation, acknowledged that he alone was to blame for the fatal issue of that day. I had for a considerable time in my possession the original of the short, but emphatic letter, which he wrote to Montmorin, the ambassador, from the very shore of

Scarcely had Gibraltar foiled beneath its walls this formidable attempt, when in sight of our armies and our squadrons, the place was re-victualled by admiral Howe, who afterwards with his thirty-six ships boldly entered the Mediterranean. He was seen from Buena Vista passing from one sea to the other; every spectator supposed that he was running into the jaws of destruction. The fifty-two ships which were in the bay, weighed anchor and pursued him. But Howe baffled our manœuvres, as fortune had done our plans, and returned through the straits in the same security as he had entered them.

All these disappointments produced dissatisfaction, but not discouragement. The two French princes alone, and their brilliant retinue, who had come to the pillars of Hercules, in full confidence of being present at the taking of Gibraltar, thinking its reduction impossible,

Algeziras, amid the dying sound of the artillery, and by the light of the burning batteries. It was as follows :

“ I have burned the temple of Ephesus; every thing is lost, and through my fault. What comforts me under my misfortune is, that the glory of the two kings remains untarnished.”

On recovering however from the shock, d'Arçon wrote a learned memoir, in which he took great pains to modify the confession which had escaped him, and to prove that he had more than one partner, or rather that circumstances the most untoward and imperious constituted his only fault.

manifested an impatience to return, which displeased the court of Madrid, though it gave its consent. It was at the Escorial when they revisited that place. The reception which they experienced at this second interview was not quite so cordial as at the first. The enthusiasm which they had at first excited, had cooled; and indeed they could expect no other.

I had now before me the theatre of these events. With what interest I surveyed every object about this celebrated rock! It is steepest next to the Mediterranean, and gradually declines towards the bay of Algeziras. It is on this kind of talus that the art of fortification has multiplied the means of defence whose tremendous variety you would not have suspected.

Nature, as if to render Gibraltar inaccessible on all sides, has placed between the foot of this fortress, on the west, and the bay of Algeziras, a deep swamp, which extends to the land gate, and leaves between them only space sufficient for a very narrow causeway, commanded by near one hundred pieces of cannon. Between this swamp and the bay, a small dyke runs along by the sea-side to confine the water; and within the enclosure of the fortress the marsh is bordered by a palisade, which begins at the foot of the mountain and terminates at the sea. This palisade was the first victim sacrificed at the siege of Gibraltar; a new one was erected

immediately after the peace. From this point you may distinctly see the old mole, a kind of narrow jetty, lined on either side with batteries. It entirely masks the new mole, which is half a league behind it.

Across this palisade, we had an interview with three English officers, who in vain pressed us to infringe the prohibition of the court of Madrid. We could not, however, refuse their invitation to drink a few glasses of porter to the health of King George III. and General Elliot; after which we returned towards the lines. In retiring from the celebrated rock, I could not refrain from looking back at it twenty times. That, thought I, is the rock on which, for five years, the eyes of the universe were fixed. It is scarcely of the least use to the English, but they imagine their honour concerned in the preservation of this little spot, in spite of nature, which seems to have allotted it to the sovereign of the peninsula of which it forms a part: they accordingly spare no efforts to fortify, to retain, and to defend it. Spain, on the other hand, has no motive but vanity to attempt to recover it: and to this phantom, under a monarch sparing of the blood and treasure of his subjects, did she, during the space of four years, sacrifice immense sums, the most hopeful plans of more distant expeditions, and even the national glory!

CHAP. X.

Malaga—Return to Madrid through Ximena, Gausin, Ronda, Ossuna, &c.—Departure from Madrid, and its causes.—Three Roads from Madrid to Valencia.

It would now be the time to bring back my readers to Madrid, through the kingdom of Grenada; but I must confine my observations to the city of Malaga.

As you go from Cadiz to Malaga, you traverse a beautiful country, where lofty mountains and charming plains alternately succeed each other as far as Antequera, a town agreeably situated on the summit of a very high hill. From this place to Malaga there is an excellent road, which was begun in 1783, and winds, for the space of seven leagues, along hills covered with vineyards.

Malaga itself is in a delicious situation, in a climate where rain is unknown, except at the end of autumn. Towards the north and east it is sheltered by very lofty mountains, whose

summits are sometimes covered with snow. Towards the west extends a fertile plain watered by two small rivers. The sides of the mountains, at the foot of which Malaga stands, are in high cultivation, being covered with almond, olive, orange, lemon, and fig-trees, and with vineyards, the generous produce of which circulates at the tables of the rich from one end of the world to the other. There are upwards of six thousand vineyards in the district of Malaga. One year with another they yield more than seventy thousand arrobas of wine, half of which quantity is exported.

There are from twenty-eight to thirty different kinds of grapes, the best of which are known by the names of Tiernó, Moscatel, and Pedro Ximenez. This last appellation, the origin of which cannot be precisely learned even on the spot, is given to one of the most celebrated sorts of Malaga wine, but which is not the exclusive produce of any particular district.

Another way of classing the grapes of Malaga, is according to the different periods at which they ripen. The early ones are gathered in the month of June. They make the best raisins (*passas*), and yield a wine which is almost as thick as honey. The grapes of the season, which are gathered at the beginning of

September, furnish wines of superior quality and strength. Lastly, from the late grapes the genuine Malaga wines are made. Among these are certain kinds which are held in higher estimation by the connoisseurs in liquors, and which, being less common, are dearer than the ordinary wines. Such is, for instance, the wine called *Lagrima de Malaga*, which is the unpressed produce of the fruit of the best districts; such, too, is the wine of *Guindus*, or common Malaga, into which have been put young buds of the hard cherry-tree, whose fruit the Spaniards denominate *Guinda*.

Next to the vine the olive-tree contributes most largely to the opulence of Malaga. In the vicinity of that city there are five hundred olive-presses; but the oil, like that of the other provinces, and for the same reasons, is not of good quality: it is however tolerable at Velez Malaga, and still better in the neighbourhood of the village of Churian.

Very few people, even in Spain, know that sugar-canes are cultivated in the environs of Velez Malaga, and principally at Torrox, two leagues distant from that place. Through the want of wood, it is true, the sugar-houses, relics of the industry of the Moors, have been suffered successively to fall into ruins; and most of these canes serve only as playthings for

children who suck them. Among the plantations which still exist, those most worthy of notice belong to M. Thomas Quilty de Valois, who keeps at work two sugar-mills (*ingenios*), the produce of which is very little inferior to the best sugars of the Antilles. He has also lately erected a distillery, which has furnished specimens of rum that may be compared with the best Jamaica. In his works, he uses pit-coal, which is imported from England, or comes from the Spanish coasts of the Mediterranean, where, for some time, coal-mines have been wrought for the purpose of supplying the wants of the department of Carthagená. There are even some at no great distance from Torrox; but such is the apathy of the Spaniards, on many points, notwithstanding the spirit of improvement excited with regard to many others, that they have not yet attempted to avail themselves of these treasures.

The mountains which surround Malaga present the mineralogist with inexhaustible stores. They contain jasper, alabaster, antimony, mercury, sulphur, lead, amianthus, loadstone, &c.

Malaga has scarcely any remarkable edifice except its magnificent cathedral, which remains unfinished for want of hands and funds; and a modern theatre, which is not destitute of elegance.

In the time of the Moors, this city and its environs were much more populous than at present. The city alone has contained upwards of eighty thousand souls. In 1747 it had between thirty-one and thirty-two thousand, and near fifty thousand in 1789. In the western part of its territory there were formerly above fifty villages; at present there are not more than sixteen. These facts alone would be sufficient to demonstrate the injury which Spain has sustained from the expulsion of the Moors.

This beautiful city has not only suffered from political ravages, but is liable, in rainy seasons, to destructive inundations from the torrent of the Guadalmedina, which runs through it. It has now and then been visited by earthquakes, and thirteen or fourteen times by the plague. The second contagion, which, in 1804, ravaged Andalusia and the coasts of the Mediterranean, made greater havoc here than in any other town of Spain. Malaga has three suburbs; the streets are narrow, muddy, and ill-paved. It is a large, rather than a handsome town, but its territory and port contribute to render it a place of considerable importance. Its harbour is very large and commodious; it is capable of containing four hundred merchantmen and ten ships of the line. Vessels may enter or leave

it with any wind whatever. The entrance is formed by two moles, at the distance of about three thousand fathoms from each other; but the sea gradually recedes from this coast, and as the current of the Guadalmedina carries along with it a great quantity of sand, it is not improbable that sooner or later the harbour of Malaga will be entirely choked up.

This city, however, is at present engaged in a very extensive commerce. The two nations who derive the greatest advantage from it are, in the first place, the French, and in the second, the English. In 1791 Malaga contained 321 natives of France, 342 Genoese, and 62 English. It is, nevertheless, visited by a greater number of the vessels of the latter nation than of any other. In 1789 they amounted to near one hundred, while those of the French did not exceed eight or ten. The Spaniards begin to frequent this port more than they used to do. In 1785, only two ships of that nation entered the harbour. In 1791 it was visited by thirty-nine, and in 1792 by thirty-three.

The city of Malaga itself takes a direct part in maritime commerce.* It has about twenty

* These observations on the mercantile activity of Malaga may be considered as a supplement to, and, in some respects, as a modification of what we have said on the subject in Chap. VI. of Vol. II.

brigs and snows belonging to owners who employ them in frequent voyages to the Spanish Indies, to which they carry wines, spirituous liquors, raisins, figs, oil, linens, and mercery, and bring back in return, piastres, hides, and colonial produce. These vessels are also freighted sometimes with wine for Ostend, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and even for Riga and Petersburg. There is besides at Malaga a society of mariners called *Compañia de Navieros*, which possesses two or three vessels of three hundred and fifty tons burden, which are solely engaged in the commerce with India, exclusive of a great number of small lateen-rigged vessels, employed in the coasting trade of Spain and Portugal, from Barcelona to Lisbon, and sometimes hired to convey supplies to the presidencies of Spain.* But these different vessels are very rarely engaged in carrying the fruits of the country to Marseilles and Genoa. The ship-owners of Malaga relinquish this trade to the vessels of Catalonia, the Ragusan polacres, and the French tartans. This city is nevertheless a place of great business.

* This appellation is given to the places still possessed by Spain on the coasts of Africa, and which, since the evacuation of Oran and Mazalquivir, are reduced to the following: Melille, Ceuta, Alhucemas, and the Peñon.

It contained in 1804 sixty first-rate houses in every branch of commerce. It has manufactures of silks, velvet, shag, stockings, thread, hats, soap, paper, &c. Neither are the neighbouring towns without industry. There are manufactures of woollen cloth, baize, serge, at Coin, Junquera, and in particular at Grazalema, the cloths of which are in great demand. Serges are likewise manufactured at Ronda, baize and morocco leather at Antequera, and crucibles at Marbella.

Another less innocent branch of industry is likewise cultivated along this whole coast of the kingdom of Granada; I mean smuggling, which of late years has been carried on there with increased activity. The consequences are severe laws, which the government in vain endeavours to enforce, and frequent murders that are committed with impunity.

A road which runs along the sea-coast leads from Malaga to Velez Malaga, a handsome little town, a quarter of a league from the Mediterranean, and the native place of the celebrated minister Galvez. To give life to this district he established at Machara Viaya, a village near Velez, a manufactory of playing cards, which supplies all the Spanish colonies with that article.

But let us return to St. Roch, in order to resume our route to Madrid. By making a small

circuit the traveller may pass through Ximena, a small town situated on the side of a steep rock. About twenty years since, the minister Galvez established here a foundry of iron cannon and balls, exclusively intended for Spanish America.

Proceeding three leagues further, you come to Gausin, a handsome town in the midst of steep mountains, from which the rock of Gibraltar may be distinctly seen. It overlooks a deep valley, fertilized by the streams which water it in every part. The extensive domain of a convent of Franciscans contributes greatly to adorn the landscape. The possessions of the monks are universally in good situations, and in high cultivation, so that they tend to enliven the adjacent country. It is only their accumulation in cities that is attended with serious inconveniences at least for industry.

To the distance of two or three leagues beyond Gausin, the road runs along the sides of the hills, through vineyards which cover them from their very summits to the bottom of the valleys. The country afterwards becomes still more uneven; as far as Ronda, it consists entirely of lofty mountains, in the defiles of which winds an extremely rugged road.

From time to time you come to miserable villages, which hang as it were on the sides of naked rocks. Their position and their names Guatazin, Benali, and Atajates plainly indicate that they

were built by the Moors, who sought, in the bosom of these almost inaccessible mountains, retreats where they might be secure from the attacks of the christians. At present they are the haunts of robbers and smugglers.

After passing Atajate, the road ascends till it gains the summit of lofty mountains, whence the traveller sees, for the last time, the rock of Gibraltar.

Soon afterwards he discovers Ronda, a town surrounded almost entirely with a double inclosure of rocks. The situation is highly picturesque: but this kind of natural fortification, when it ceases to be useful, proves very inconvenient. At the bottom of this deep and narrow valley runs a small river, over which has, within these few years, been erected a stone bridge, which, from its elevation, excites in the mind of the passenger emotions of terror.

The environs of Ronda, to the north-east, abound in fruits of every kind, a circumstance rarely met with in Spain; for whether it is owing to the nature of the soil or the want of skill in the gardeners, the country of figs, olives, and oranges, seldom produces the other exquisite fruits which constitute the most ornamental and delicious part of our autumnal desserts. We shall indeed be disposed to ascribe this to mismanagement, when we consider that the king's table is supplied with excellent fruits of this kind

from the gardens of Aranjuez and St. Ildefonso, which are under the superintendence of skilful gardeners.

Pavarete, celebrated for its wine, is four leagues from Ronda, and belongs to Bl. Giron, one of the principal inhabitants of the latter town, a distinguished officer, known during the late war by the appellation of Marquis de las Amarillas.

Grazalema, is embosomed among rocks, like Ronda, from which it is only three leagues distant. The inhabitants having abundance of water, and few other resources, have established one of the principal manufactures of Spanish cloths for the consumption of the lower classes.

After passing Ronda, you proceed to Cañete, a town of a bad appearance, and traverse a rugged and dreary country, notwithstanding its extensive corn-fields, and plantations of olives. At the end of five long leagues, you arrive at Ossuna, the capital of the duchy of that name. The town is large, but though it is the residence of many of the nobility, nothing in it announces affluence. You may notice, if you please, an *alaneda*, or public walk, adorned with a fountain, and amuse yourself with the pompous inscription which so highly extols so mean a monument.

The distance from Ossuna to Ecija is only six leagues, the road leading through one of the

most level and highly cultivated parts of Andalusia.

I have already conducted the reader from Ecija to Madrid, a distance of seventy-five leagues. I have now nothing more to do but to lead him back to the frontiers of France, by the route which I followed at the beginning of 1793, in consequence of an event which marked the first months of that year.

The court of Spain had beheld at a distance the storm that was gathering over the head of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and it was chiefly with the hope of averting it that, believing and pretending to give credit to the assurances of that prince, it received me in the month of May 1792, as his minister plenipotentiary. On this occasion, the Spanish monarch, and those by whom he was surrounded, were not perfectly consistent in their conduct in regard to me. They seemed freely and spontaneously to acknowledge my character; and yet, from the reception they gave me for four months, it was easy to perceive how extremely repugnant this negotiation was to their feelings. Such was the equivocal state of things when the news of the events of the 10th of August reached me at St. Ildefonso, the day before the anniversary of St. Louis, the festival of the queen. I nevertheless appeared at court: it was an effort of courage, and it was the last. From that day I thought it so much more in-

cumbent on me to keep away from it; because, since the deposition of the king, I had ceased to be acknowledged as his representative. This circumstance did not prevent me from seeing M. d'Aranda, and his successor the Duke de la Alcaudia, as often as the interests of my country required.

Notwithstanding the pacific dispositions of which I was directed to assure the new government of France, the Spanish court was making preparations which seemed indicative of hostile intentions. My duty enjoined me not to suffer them to pass unnoticed. I requested an explanation respecting them. More than once the Spanish minister appeared indignant that a foreign government should intermeddle in the internal administration of his country. Being, however, at that time desirous of peace, and hoping, above all things, to save Louis XVI. he was on the point of binding himself to neutrality by a formal agreement. This agreement was actually drawn up in my presence, and forwarded to Paris, whence it was sent back with some slight alterations. These, however, Spain thought of sufficient importance to require fresh explanations.

In the mean time, the trial of the king commenced. Charles IV. urgently interceded in behalf of his kinsman; but in vain. The death of Louis was resolved upon. He was brought to the block, and my negotiation was broken off.

I demanded a passport, and left Madrid the 23d of February, 1793. As I had never visited Catalonia, which, on the eve of the war with which we were threatened, was likely to be the principal theatre of military preparations, I resolved to proceed through Valencia and Barcelona, and to return to France by way of Perpignan.

My first day's journey brought me to Aranjuez, where the court then resided. I saw once more a few friends whom I still retained among the Spaniards, and who, lamenting with me the disastrous rupture for which my departure was the signal, predicted, as well as myself, that it would not be of long duration. I pursued my route and passed the night at Ocaña.

I entered La Mancha, the western part of which I had to cross on my way to the kingdom of Valencia. I had performed the same journey merely for pleasure in 1782, in the finest season of the year, and at a period when my mind, the whole political horizon, and every thing about me, was more serene.

There are three roads from Aranjuez to Valencia: one of them, the post road, passes through Tarancon, Requena, &c. It was this that I travelled in 1783. The other, which I took on my return, conducts through San Felipe, Almanza, and Albacete. The third is the beautiful new road, which leads in the most convenient manner from Madrid to Valencia.

We shall take a rapid survey of these two roads. If you chuse the post-road, you proceed for half a league, along the *Calle de la Reyna*; then, turning to the left, you bid adieu for a long time to verdure and shade.

In the space of seven leagues, you several times come within sight of the Tagus, but it is not the Tagus of Aranjuez, nor even of Toledo. You afterwards arrive at Fuente-Dueñas, a large village, which exhibits nothing but a picture of idleness and misery.

Three leagues beyond that place is Tarancon, a town of considerable size; a little beyond which you perceive the castle of Ucles, which, after having been, as its form indicates, a fortress built without doubt to prevent the incursions of the Moors, is now transformed into the peaceful asylum of a religious community.

I pass rapidly over the stages of Saylices, Villar del Saz, Olivarez, the situation of which, in the center of a nearly circular chain of hills, is extremely picturesque; and of Bonache, three leagues further on. The distance from Bonache to Campillo is five leagues; the road is encumbered with stones, and leads through a country which every where presents a picture of sterility and depopulation. For the greatest part of the five leagues between Campillo and Villargordo, you are conducted along the summits of the mountains, by paths where two persons could not

walk abreast, without running the risk of being precipitated into the deep valleys beneath. After stumbling in this manner for some hours over a rugged road in the midst of deserts, you descend by a zig-zag path, and discern the **Rio Cabriel** winding through a narrow valley, which it clothes with verdure, and which it leaves, after passing under a handsome bridge with a single arch, called *el puente de Pajaza*. Near this bridge is a spacious natural cavern, the retreat of the robbers and smugglers with which this unhappy country is infested.

The traveller, after he has ascended another very steep hill, at length arrives at the post-town of Villargordo.

The mountains over which we have just conducted the reader are denominated *Las Contreras*, a name which excites no very pleasant sensations in the traveller. The next four leagues bring him to Requena, across a plain, which affords the first specimen of the kingdom of Valencia. The neighbouring streams, from which cuts have been made to irrigate this plain, conspire with the goodness of the soil and the mildness of the climate, to adapt it to the cultivation of corn, wine, flax, and in particular of the mulberry-tree, as well as to pasturage.

Beyond Requena, you come to another chain of mountains called *Las Cabrillas*. This road is likewise in many places extremely rugged,

but, fortunately it is of no great length; for at the end of three leagues you arrive at *la Venta del Relator*, a building perfectly lonely and detached.

As soon as you have passed Requena, you enter the kingdom of Valencia; and you perceive the transition in the industry and activity of the inhabitants, who fail not to avail themselves of the scanty patches of vegetable earth with which the brows of their rocks are covered.

The environs of Chiva in particular, justify the enchanting descriptions which have been given of this beautiful country. It affords inexpressible delight, after traversing the barren plains of Castile, where trees are so rare, where the herbage is without verdure, and the fields are uninclosed, to find yourself among quick hedges, formed by aloes, and serving as inclosures to orchards, pastures, and plantations of olive and mulberry trees.

This charming country extends to about half a league beyond Chiva. The soil then becomes less fertile. But the enchanted eye soon discerns Valencia and the Mediterranean. On arriving at the village of *Quarte*, which is a league distant from Valencia, you come to an uninterrupted succession of orchards, gardens, and little country houses, the simplicity of which forms a pleasing contrast with the luxuriance of nature. Half a league further you come to a second vil-

lage, the extremity of which joins the suburbs of Valencia.

The way by which I returned in 1785 is seven leagues longer than the above road. It is not frequented by the post, but you may perform the journey either in a *coche de colleras*, or at a much cheaper rate, in a kind of small chaises called *calezines*, which are very common both in the environs of Valencia and in the city itself.

Pursuing this second route, you are first conducted for six leagues, by an excellent road, through a very fertile country. The plantations of mulberry and olive trees, intermingled with fields of rice, extend to the environs of San Felipe. This town, formerly denominated Xativa, stands on the declivity of a mountain, at the foot of two castles; a position which accounts for its long resistance to the arms of Philip V. and for which it was punished with the loss of its name and privileges. It contains a very handsome church, and several fountains which would not disgrace the largest cities.

On leaving San Felipe, you proceed for three leagues between uncultivated and depopulated hills, to *la Venta del Puerto*. You are then on the confines of the kingdom of Murcia, so much extolled for its fertility and high cultivation. It is true that its claim to these panegyrics, has been acquired only by the plain in which its capital is situated on the bank of the Segura, and which

is known by the appellation of *la Vega de Murcia*.

Beyond *la venta del Puerto* the view is bounded on all sides by barren mountains, across which passes one of the roads that descend to Almanza. This spacious town appears seated at the extremity of an extensive plain, celebrated for the victory which secured the throne to Philip V. This plain is in a high state of cultivation, and its fertility seems to increase the nearer you approach to Almanza. The people of this country have a tradition that the years immediately following the battle fought here were extremely productive; a paltry compensation for the waste of human blood, occasioned by that victory. About the distance of a cannon-shot before you come to Almanza, is erected a socle, on the four sides of which are Spanish and Latin inscriptions relative to the victory gained by the Marshal de Berwick. Above the socle rises a pyramid, upon which was placed an armed lion. The Valencians, taking umbrage at this figure, and its threatening attitude, beat it down with stones, and the little statue which now crowns the pyramid was substituted in its stead. A victory like that of Almanza might have been commemorated by a more magnificent monument.

The only branch of industry carried on at Almanza is weaving, in which considerable numbers of hands are employed, so that the hemp,

grown in the neighbourhood is not, by far, sufficient to keep them employed. To the north of the town you see the picturesque ruins of an old uninhabited castle. Towards the east rises a mountain in the form of a trapezium, the sides of which are so regular, that at a distance you would almost take it for a prodigious intrenchment.

On leaving Almanza, previous to the construction of the great road, you crossed a country, stony, desert, and covered with heath; another not very pleasing specimen of the kingdom of Murcia. Soon afterwards, you perceive on the left, the village of Chinchilla, seated on a naked eminence, commanding a view of the spacious and fertile plains of La Mancha. You are then but six or seven leagues from the village of Hellin, remarkable for being the birth-place of Macanaz and of Count de Florida Blanca, who was exiled thither immediately after his disgrace. You now approach Albacete, the environs of which are rendered fertile by irrigation. This town, situated between Valencia and Alicant, is frequented by a great number of merchants. It has manufactures of steel and iron brought from Alicant. Their productions have not attained any high degree of perfection, but this branch of industry is at least sufficient to banish idleness and indigence from the place.

Beyond Albacete, the road passes through

three large villages of La Mancha, La Gineta, La Roda, and Minalla; and you proceed for nine leagues across a prodigious plain very negligently cultivated, and producing only a small quantity of corn and saffron.

You next arrive at El Provenzio, a pretty large town, the inhabitants of which are principally engaged in the cultivation of saffron.

Proceeding through a well cultivated country, you come to the two villages of Predonera, which has a saltpetre manufactory, and La Mota, in an agreeable situation. Hence the eye expatiates over the extensive plains which were the theatre of the exploits of the immortal Don Quixotte. Soon afterwards, you pass within a league of Toboso, the native town of Dulcinea; and discern its steeple, the little wood where the knight awaited the tender interview which he sent his faithful squire to negotiate, and the house in which Dulcinea received his amorous message.

At length you pass through Quintanar, and arrive at Corrol, a large village of La Mancha, which is no more than five leagues from Aranjuez. In 1783, the new road went no further than this place. In 1793, I found that it had been carried on to the confines of the kingdom of Valencia, and excepting about twelve leagues, the road from Madrid to Valencia was one of the finest in Europe. The new road has in seve-

ral places taken a different direction from the old one. It leaves San Felipe a league to the left. It neither crosses the extensive plain of Almanza, nor passes by the monument of the battle. On reaching this plain, you proceed for some time along the skirts of it, and then gently descend into the kingdom of Valencia; a transition announced by the temperature of the air, and the high cultivation of the country. On my last journey, I entered Valencia on the 27th of February. All the almond-trees were in blossom, all the spring flowers were blown, and we travelled among olive and carob-trees, beneath the shade of which a soil easily fertilized, announced abundance. This first dress of nature appeared so much the more striking, as we had just traversed La Mancha; where the ground in several places was still covered with large patches of snow.

In this day's journey we observed very few houses. Half way, a *venta* on the declivity of a hill, commands a view of a fertile valley. It is four leagues further to the *Venta del Rey*, a large new inn, where we were agreeably surprised to find clean furniture and utensils, and even a fire-place.

Every thing in this district indicates affluence. The new road is in general constructed with particular care, and even with magnificence.

As we travel along it, we come at intervals to

handsome new houses, fine bridges over the smallest streams, banks faced with solid walls, frequent parapets for the safety of the traveller, parts of the road turned with art along the sides of hills, and stones marking the distance at the end of every league. The fifty-fifth is placed at the entrance of the long village, at the extremity of which is situated the Venta del Rey. On your way thither, you pass through Lanera, another village, formed of groups of houses, most of which are new, scattered on either side of the way. High roads, especially in fine countries, are like the banks of rivers, and even of smaller streams; they invite population.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival at Valencia. Popular indignation against the French. Description of the City and its Environs. Rice-grounds. Barilla. Oil. Esparto. Aloes.

WE arrived very late on the seventh day of our journey at Valencia, The sixty-third league-stone stands near the first house in the suburb where we judged it advisable to pass the night ; a precaution which the terror of our muleteer, rather than our own fears caused us to adopt. Valencia was at that time the theatre of one of the most violent ebullitions of regal and religious fanaticism against the French. Every person, belonging to that nation, whatever might be his opinion respecting the Revolution, was exposed to the popular fury. In order to repress its rage, Don Vittorio Navia, governor of the kingdom of Valencia, was obliged to exert the utmost vigilance, and to make use of the small armed force which had been left in its capital. On the night of our arrival, the city was illuminated ; numerous patrols were employed to prevent disorders. The innocent and peaceable

objects of this blind animosity were shut up in their habitations, from which they were every moment afraid of being dragged. I knew several persons at Valencia who were in this predicament; to their safety I sacrificed the pleasure I should have received from seeing them, and they were not a little obliged to me for it.

For our part, keeping close and quiet in our inn, we imposed silence on such of our servants as might have betrayed us by their language, and in particular, on our children, who, by their cries might have apprised the enraged passengers, of the existence of a little French colony. We fortunately passed quite unnoticed, and set off an hour before day-light from this dangerous city. The tumult which had already had more than one paroxysm, cost none of our countrymen their lives; but several of their habitations were broken open, and some of their warehouses pillaged; and the Valencians thus gratified the ancient jealousy excited by the prosperity of our commerce and industry; a jealousy which is stronger at Valencia than in any other part of Spain, because that city, celebrated for its manufactures, looked upon us as active and formidable rivals.

I shall not carry my readers so rapidly through the kingdom of Valencia, neither shall I make them quit its capital so abruptly as I was obliged to do in 1793. This province, one of the most beautiful portions of Spain, perhaps the most

delightful country in Europe, requires us to enter into some particulars respecting it.

The capital of Valencia, though not strictly speaking a handsome city, is at least a very agreeable place to reside in, especially of late years, since the establishment of a vigilant police, which is not less attentive to its embellishment than to its security. Though its streets are unpaved, they are kept extremely clean. The soil, which is very frequently removed, serves to manure the vast orchard which surrounds Valencia on every side. Idleness and indigence are banished from this city, where artisans of every description find work. In 1783, near four thousand silk looms and frames of different dimensions gave employment to upwards of twenty thousand of the inhabitants, exclusive of those who prepare the wood and iron-work of so great a number of machines, and such as are engaged in spinning, winding, and dyeing the silk.

This prosperity has progressively increased since 1783, and I am assured, that of late years Valencia has contained eight thousand looms and frames of every description. The government neglects nothing that can tend to the encouragement of this branch of industry. Of this disposition it exhibited several proofs during the war with France. That war occasioned two of those extraordinary levies of men, known in Spain by the appellation of *quintas*. The court

exempted from the ballot all the journeymen employed in any manner whatever in the silk manufactures, and in the city of Valencia alone this exemption extended to upwards of three thousand persons.

The silk manufactures are not the only source of employment possessed by the Valencians. They supply the royal arsenals with a considerable quantity of hemp. They have manufactures of woollen cloths and camlets in their capital, and fifty paper-mills, scattered throughout the country.

Their wines and brandies are exported in great quantities not only to England, Jersey, Holland, and the North, by way of Dunkirk, where most of the brandy denominated Valencian, was some time since made, but also for several years past to Spanish America. The wines and brandies of Valencia even find their way up the Loire, to the environs of Orleans. Our merchants buy them up, to mix the latter with our brandies which are of superior quality, and the former with the French wines in order to give them a higher color.

Rice is another source of wealth to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Valencia ; but its cultivation detracts from the salubrity of their genial climate. They, however, possess means of protecting themselves from the pernicious influence of the rice-lands. I have known people

who, by taking care not to go abroad till the sun had risen to some height above the horizon, by returning in the evening to their apartments, which were well closed against the external air, and abstaining almost entirely from the use of water, lived in the midst of their rice-fields without sustaining any inconvenience; but few persons who reside in their neighbourhood, escape the attacks of periodical fevers. They are not on this account the less attached to that branch of agriculture, because it is attended with little trouble, and considerable profit. Rice is sown at midsummer, and reaped at the end of September. The crops seldom fail, and the produce is sure to find a ready market. Such being the case, it is but natural that the cultivation of this article should have numerous partisans. The government is, in consequence, obliged to enact severe laws to diminish the quantity of rice-grounds. They abound along the coast, and especially to the south of the city of Valencia, from Gandia to Catarrojo. On this tract, the predilection for the culture of rice assumes the character of a mania, which nothing can restrain. The government divides the farms into several quarters or *cotos*, and marks out those which alone for a given time may be sown with rice; but this restriction is in few instances attended to. In vain the Captain-general repairs personally to the spot to enforce these regulations.

His authority is often compromised, and sometimes even his safety; and the law is frequently evaded with impunity. The quantity of rice raised of late years is consequently prodigious. Valencia supplies all Spain, except the south of Andalusia with rice, which is preferred to the produce of Carolina.

The extensive demand for the rice of Valencia has tended to raise it considerably in price. The measure which in 1755 was sold for six or seven piastres, now costs from ten to twelve; and the farmers of the country assert that Valencia annually receives no less than thirty-two millions of reals for the rice which it exports. There are, it is well known, two ways of cultivating this grain. It is either planted or sown. When planted, it is more productive, but requires more attention, for which reason the latter method is generally preferred. The land is prepared by ploughing for its reception, but the surface is made level without any appearance of furrows, and covered with water to the depth of more than a foot. The culture of rice, at least in the kingdom of Valencia, is attended with this singularity, that the plant is constantly in water even including the time of reaping it. Rice-grounds are never drained, except for the purpose of weeding them. In harvest-time the reapers wading up to the knees in water, are followed by low carts which receive the sheaves of rice; this grain is then

separated from the straw in the same manner as all other kinds are, not only in the kingdom of Valencia, but throughout almost all Spain; that is, it is trodden out by horses or mules. After this operation, the rice is still covered with the husk. This is removed by means of mills perfectly resembling corn-mills, excepting that the stones are covered with cork. The rice is sold both before and after the latter operation.*

Barilla is a production peculiar to the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia. It is an essential article in the manufacture of glass. About one hundred and fifty thousand quintals are annually made and exported to France, England, Genoa, and Venice.

Soda, in Spanish, *sosa*, is a species of barilla, made use of in the soap manufactories of France and England. About twenty-five thousand quintals a-year are made in the kingdom of Valencia.

Aqua-azul is a third species of barilla. The quantity annually made amounts to four thousand quintals, the greatest part of which is exported to Marseilles.

* The rice-grounds have of late years gradually extended their limits. A law-suit between their partisans, and those of plantations of mulberry-trees, was decided in favour of the former, who have abused their victory at the expence of the salubrity of the air. The rice-grounds, however, do not yet reach beyond Ria; the rest of the coast of Valencia still remains free from their pernicious influence.

Lastly, *solicor*, a fourth species of barilla, is produced without cultivation, and is used in the glass-houses of France, England, and Italy.

When the plants of these different species of barilla have arrived at maturity, they are formed into heaps which are left a day or two to dry. They are afterwards laid, without too much pressure, in holes about three feet deep, and set on fire. The burning matter is stirred from time to time with long poles, and fresh plants are thrown in when the others are consumed. When they are supposed to be completely burned, the holes are covered with earth, and the barilla is left to cool. It is too often adulterated by the admixture of other plants which grow in the same soil. The ashes produced by this burning are the barilla in lumps, in which form it is exported.

Oil is one of the most abundant productions of the kingdom of Valencia; but it is not allowed to be exported, except when the price is very low. It is generally thought to have a disagreeable taste and smell, and upon the whole it deserves that character. This imperfection is attributed to various causes; in the first place, to the practice of bruising the fruit by the negligent manner in which it is gathered, instead of plucking it with care; secondly, to the custom of keeping the stone too long in the olive; and thirdly, to the scarcity of mills, which occasions the olives to be left several months in heaps, in which

they ferment, and rot before the juice is expressed.

To me this third cause appears the most important as well as the most general in its operation. It is one of the principal inconveniencies of the feudal system, which still oppresses a great portion of Spain. In the kingdom of Valencia, in particular, there are few landed proprietors but what have their exclusive ovens and mills, either for corn or olives. Now the mills of the latter class are far from being sufficiently numerous for the growers of olives, and they are not at liberty to build others for their own use. The oil of Valencia must therefore be of inferior quality, as long as its inhabitants are not released from these galling restrictions. Some, however, succeed by care and precaution, in producing an oil, which in the opinion of competent judges, is not much inferior to that of Provence.*

The Valencians fail not to derive advantage from all the productions of their soil. They have a kind of earth, of which they make squares or tiles of colored delft-ware, called *azulejos*, which are manufactured only at Valencia. They are used to pave and cover the walls of apart-

* Some improvement has been made in the manufacture of oil, especially in the environs of Alicante. At Eliche, for example, and on the hills adjacent to that little town, is made a virgin oil, limpid as water, and which is not surpassed by the best oils of Provence.

ments. *The most complicated subjects, as masquerades, bull-fights, &c. are painted upon them.*

Esparto, though one of the most common productions of the country, is of very great utility to the inhabitants, who make with it mats and cordage. Great quantities of this article were formerly sent to the French ports in the Mediterranean, but the exportation of it was forbidden in 1783. This prohibition produced reasonances. It was asserted that the country could not possibly make use of all the *esparto* grown there. The government, in consequence, allowed certain individuals to export considerable quantities, and our ports of Toulon and Marseilles, where it is much used in the dock-yards and arsenals, reaped the advantage of this permission.

The industry of the Valencians even avails itself of the aloe, a parasitical plant, which seems to have been designed only for ornament and for inclosures. From its long and very thick leaves they procure a kind of thread, with which they make bridles and other articles.

They likewise export part of the wool of the second quality which their territory produces. The sheep which furnish it are chiefly kept in the vicinity of Gaudia, and in the port of that town it is shipped for Marseilles, together with numerous cargoes of dried fruits, aniseed, and cochineal raised in the country.

Finally, their abundant crops of oranges, lemons, raisins, and figs, and above all their wines and brandies furnish them with articles for a prodigious exportation.

In the kingdom of Valencia, industry is not cramped and oppressed, as in the provinces of the crown of Castile, by royal imposts. None of those comprehended under the denomination of *rentas provinciales*, are known here; in the place of all these there is only the *equivalente*, a direct tax on all property of what nature soever it may be. It is rated with great accuracy in each township by the board, called the *Contaduria de mopios et arbitrios*, and the tax, which is moderate, is gathered by a collector, denominated *alcalde*. On the other hand the Valencians are subject to very heavy feudal services, and seignorial imposts levied in kind on the produce of the soil, amounting to a seventh, a sixth, and in some places to a fourth of the whole crop.

CHAPTER XII.

Buildings of Valencia. Canals. Irrigation. New Port. Silks. State of Manufactures.

LET us now enter Valencia and survey the most remarkable objects in that city.

Its exchange is a spacious structure, where the merchants and manufacturers assemble, and where the chief, nay almost the only subject of their conversation and bargains, is the most valuable production of the country, silk.

The arts and belles lettres are seldom cultivated in manufacturing and commercial cities. Valencia, nevertheless, has a public library, that of the archbishop, which also contains a collection of statues and antique busts.

The last archbishop of Valencia was of a character so austere, as to make him an enemy to all profane pleasures. His scruples diminished the value of this collection, by causing some of the statues which compose it to be mutilated. The theatre of Saragossa having been burned by lightning, he obtained an order for shutting up that of Valencia and building houses upon the site which it occupied.

Since his death, the lovers of the stage have begun to erect a new theatre, under the direction of Fontana, a skilful architect, who, some years since was invited to Madrid, to execute the embellishments of the palace.*

The *Real*, the residence of the Captain-general, is more remarkable for its fine position than for its beauty. It is an ancient and extensive edifice, situated in the most remarkable quarter. Between the walls of the city and the suburbs runs on this side a long vacant space, to which you are led by five bridges over the Guadalaviar. If the current of that river filled its channel, it would be difficult to imagine a finer point of view ; but before it reaches Valencia, it is extremely reduced by the abundant contributions which it has paid in its course. It is this river that furnishes the greatest part of the water for the irrigation of this fertile country. This system of irrigation is superintended by a police which cannot be too highly admired. The different cuts made from the river feed several canals for irrigation, or *azequias*, which diffuse their benefits over all the adjacent lands. Each landholder previously knows the very day and hour at which he is to receive the salutary supply. He then opens his sluice and admits the water into the little canals which border his grounds,

* This theatre is finished, but Valencia is still without any dramatic exhibition.

and which he is obliged by an express law to cleanse twice a year. Four *azequias* are cut from the Guadalaviar at different heights. The principal begins at Gestalgar, and bears the name of Moncada, a town four leagues from Valencia, where the board for the management of that *azequia* is established ; for in this kingdom the canals for irrigation constitute an important object of the general police, and in the capital there is a tribunal for the sole purpose of enforcing the laws relative to it, and punishing the delinquents. It meets in the vestibule of the cathedral, and notwithstanding the almost rustic simplicity of its members, who are all farmers, they know perfectly well how to command respect.

This general and periodical irrigation is certainly attended with great advantages. It maintains verdure and fertility ; it multiplies productions to such a degree, that the soil is continually covered with fruits ; that the mulberry-trees are thrice stripped of their leaves ; that the fields of clover and lucern are mown eight or ten times a year ; that the earth, not content with bearing forests of olive and mulberry-trees, at the same time nourishes strawberries, corn and pulse beneath their shade. But this mode of watering is likewise accompanied with serious inconveniences. This artificial fertility gives not to the plants that substance which they receive from nature alone. Accordingly the alimentary sub-

stances of Valencia are in general much less nutritious than those of Castile. This profusion of water, which changes the nature of the plants, seems also to extend to the animal kingdom. Malignity has gone still further, at the expence of the human species, and even of the fair sex, and has composed the following lines, to which I am by no means disposed to subscribe :

En Valencia la carne es hierba, la hierba agua,
Los hombres mugeles, y las mugeres nada.*

Near the banks of the Guadalaviar, are the finest walks of Valencia, the *Alameda*, *Monte Olivo*, and the road to Grao, a small village on the sea shore, about half a league from the city.

For a long time Valencia had no other port than the bad roadstead opposite Grao. Small vessels could seldom approach nearer than half a league, and ships with three masts were scarcely ever seen there. Their cargoes were unladen into barges which were rowed close to the shore, and then drawn by oxen upon the beach. Valencia, therefore, wanted nothing but a harbour to render it one of the most flourishing cities in Spain. Within these ten or twelve years efforts have been made to procure it this advantage. This undertaking has been confided

* In Valencia flesh-meat is grass, grass is water ; men are women, and women nothing.

to an able engineer, a pupil of Don Thomas Muñoz. Every thing conspired to crown it with success; the special protection of Don Louis de Urbina, the new captain-general of the province, the voluntary contributions of the merchants and manufacturers, and an advance of five millions of reals made by the bank of St. Charles. The new port will have eighteen feet of water, and will be capable of admitting large frigates. It has been formed not by digging away the beach, but by raising the water of the sea by artificial means similar to those to which the French had recourse in the construction of the port of Cherbourg.*

The coast of Valencia will, therefore, cease to be the terror of mariners from one extremity to the other; for before this recent undertaking, it had not a single good harbour. From the Alfauques at the mouth of the Ebro, to Carthagena, there were no roads but those of Alicant and Santa Pola, where the anchorage was at all safe

* The works of this port have been continued, but not with a success answerable to the first expectations. A duty was laid upon silks towards defraying the expences of this undertaking. Various other funds were set apart for the same purpose, but the tempests of winter destroy what has been done in summer. The winds are continually choking up the entrance of the port with sand-banks, and it is to be feared that all the money hitherto expended has been absolutely thrown away.

or which could afford shelter to vessels in cases of necessity.

During the administration of Count d'Aranda, an establishment was projected upon this coast, but it disappointed the expectations that were formed respecting it. A great number of Spanish slaves languished in the chains of the Algerines, in the island of Tabarca. Charles III. ransomed them and allotted them an asylum in a small desert island to the south of Alicant, which, upon this occasion, received the name of *Nueva Tabarca*. The attempt was praiseworthy, but it proved unsuccessful. Nature, by refusing this island wood, stone, earth, and water, seems to have doomed it to remain perpetually desert.

The new port of Grao holds forth more pleasing prospects. It is likely to be much frequented, and will doubtless do considerable injury to the commerce of Alicant. Even before its construction, nothing could be more delightful than the road from Valencia to Grao; but this small village was inhabited only by fishermen, and towards the north the shore was lined with miserable huts. Great part of them having been consumed by fire, and all the proprietors being obliged to rebuild them on a new plan, handsome uniform houses have risen upon their site, and will soon form a new town, which will add not a little to the embellishments of the environs of Valencia.

From the top of a tower contiguous to the cathedral, called the *Miquelet*, you may enjoy an enchanting view of Valencia, and its territory. The city seems to stand in the midst of a prodigious orchard, over which are scattered numberless villages and hamlets. Hence you behold the Guadalaviar slowly propelling the scanty remnant of its waters to the sea. Hence you may likewise perceive the Albufera, a lake which discharges itself by means of a very narrow channel into the Mediterranean and which at a certain distance, as also in the map, has the appearance of a gulf. This lake abounds in aquatic birds, which the Valencians take great delight in shooting. In this sport they particularly indulge twice in the month of November. At this season the lake is covered with water-fowl, teal, and wild ducks. The sportsmen pursue them in boats, and oblige them to take shelter among the reeds; at length finding themselves too closely pressed, the birds rise in flocks, and are killed in great numbers. The Albufera belongs to the king, who lets it for twelve thousand piastres, and the farmer sells permission to shoot there for a stated sum.

The cathedral of Valencia, though highly extolled, is an edifice rather elegant than magnificent, the walls of which are covered with stucco, in compartments bordered with gold. It contains, among other good pictures; some of the

performances of Joanes, one of the best Spanish painters of the second rank. Great encomiums are likewise bestowed on the Temple, a modern church, in a noble and simple style, and on the College del Patriarca, whose church, which would be handsome were it less obscured with smoke, possesses a rich shrine, which is shewn with much ceremony to the curious, and even to those who have no taste for such articles.

Some other churches likewise contain pictures by Joanes, Rivalta, and Orrente, the three most eminent painters of Valencia.

But what particularly distinguishes the city and kingdom of Valencia is their manufactures. We shall say but a few words concerning those of woollen cloth, though they contribute much to the prosperity of a portion of this kingdom, the mountainous region towards the west. Here are buried, as it were, the manufactories of Enguera, Ontiniente, Concenteyna, and Alcoy. They consume the greater part of the wool of the country, which, though of inferior quality, makes very good common cloth, and is even in great request for the manufactures of Languedoc. But it is the silk manufactures of Valencia that render this country so flourishing. Twenty-five years ago it produced a greater quantity of silk than it was able to manufacture;* and it was then difficult to

* It is computed that the quantity of silk manufactured one year with another in Valencia amounts to one million pounds.

conceive why government should throw such obstacles in the way of its exportation. Now that the number of looms is nearly double what it was at that period, there is sufficient reason for prohibiting the export of silk. It has even been found necessary to import this article from Italy, and sometimes from France; as for instance, after the bad season of 1784, and when the French manufactures have been in want of hands. But, notwithstanding the vigilance of the administration, part of the silk of Valencia finds its way out of the kingdom. Its exportation to the other provinces of Spain is not forbidden. A much more considerable portion than it is able to manufacture is sent to Andalusia; and it is well known that some of it, waisted down the Guadalquivir, is conveyed to England.

The increase of the silk manufactures of late years, has tended to encourage in an extraordinary degree the cultivation of mulberry-trees. They are every where planted, and are every where found to thrive. A few years since, there was a large barren tract between Valencia and Murviedro, called the *Arenal*. It is now covered with mulberry-trees. All the landholders pay particular attention to their cultivation. I was told of one who collects annually twenty pounds weight of the eggs of silk-worms, and has a sufficient number of mulberry-trees to support them. It is common enough to meet with persons who

raise five, six, or seven pounds of eggs. It may not be amiss to observe, that all these trees are of the white kind (*moreras*); for, in some of the provinces of Spain, as, for instance, in the kingdom of Granada, there are black mulberry-trees (*morales*), whose leaves produce a silk very little inferior to that of the white ones.

The leaves of the latter are sold at the rate of about 270 French livres *per carga*. These leaves are gathered once, twice, and at most thrice a year; but the last are seldom so abundant, or of such good quality as the first. In so temperate a climate; the season for gathering the leaves of the mulberry lasts the greater part of the year, but the trees must only be stripped at certain intervals, and in proportion to the consumption of the silk-worms. All these naked trunks, whose number increases as the season advances, disfigure the plains otherwise so verdant and so fertile.

The silk of Valencia may be compared, in respect to fineness, with the best in Europe, but the spinning is still imperfect, because it is divided among thousands of hands, and consequently is not executed in a uniform manner. Hence the inequalities of their stuffs; and on this account the Spanish silk imported into France is never made use of in any fine work.

Everybody knows that the beauty of the stuffs principally depends on the manner in which the silk is wound from the cocoon. This first wind-

ing is performed in three different ways, according to the instrument employed for the purpose. The method which has been, and is still practised in Spain, is attended with this defect, that the little threads of six, seven, or eight cocoons, which are wound off at once, form a single thread upon a small bobbin, without having been previously rubbed against each other. The consequence is, that the silk thread thus formed remains rough, and easily unravels. The second mode of winding is that common in Piedmont, by which each thread of silk is joined to another, and is not separated from it until it has been twisted round it four or five times.

The third manner, that of Vaucanson, is an improvement upon the latter. Upon the bobbin which he invented, the two threads of silk, after their first twisting, join a second time for the same purpose. This operation is called the *double crossing*.

If these threads, thus wound upon the spindles, are intended for the woof, they are fixed in a machine with several stories, where they are separately twisted. They are then removed to another machine, where they are twisted together, after which they are fit to be used in the loom. Those for the warp are not twisted till the moment when they are joined together.

But before the threads are twisted two and two, they undergo an operation called the *breve*,

which consists in spreading them over a large cauldron, in which several viscous ingredients are kept boiling, and the steam from which prepares them to adhere to each other. They are then carried to the twisting machine. The silk, after passing through the machine, is called *organzine*. It is in this state only that it is allowed to be exported from Piedmont, where the operation of twisting was performed better than in any other country previous to the improvement introduced by Vaucanson. The method of that skilful mechanician, who extended his views to all the operations relative to the manufacture of silk, is exclusively followed at Lyons; but the bobbins for double crossing, which go by his name, can only be used for the silk of the country, because foreign silk, which for the most part is used in these manufactures, in order to be exported, must be reduced to *organzine*.

Machines for sparing manual labour have long been in use at Valencia, as well as at Talavera de la Reyna, where I have seen a single wheels et in motion a thousand of those small spindles on which the threads of silk are wound. Those of Valencia are smaller, because that city does not contain, like Talavera, a royal manufactory, where all the operations are performed under one roof. In the former, each manufacturer has his work-people, and the machines necessary for his business scattered in different quarters.

With respect to spinning, however, the Spaniards adhere to their defective method with an obstinacy which the government has of late years attempted to subdue. In 1781, a French merchant settled at Madrid agreed to supply first the manufacturers of Murcia and Valencia, and successively any others that should require it, with Vaucanson's bobbins. But the idleness of the Spanish manufacturers producing an aversion to the use of silk, which, when thus wound, is closer and finer, and which requires greater care in the weaving without an increase of profit in proportion to the trouble, it was found necessary to employ French hands in the first experiments of this kind.

An intelligent manufacturer of the name of La Payesse, began upwards of twenty years ago to make these experiments on a large scale in a manufactory which he established at La Milanesa, near Valencia; but the silk wound, spun, and organized according to Vaucanson's method proving from fifty to sixty reals a pound dearer than that prepared in the Spanish way, had less sale; and this worthy citizen was by no means indemnified for the expence he had been at. Nevertheless he was not discouraged. He called in theory to the aid of practice, and published a treatise *On the Art of winding, spinning, doubling, and twisting Silk, according to Vaucanson's Method*. He even offered to direct the proprietors of silk-worms in

their experiments; but there is every reason to fear they will prove unavailing as long as all the implements made use of in the Spanish manufactures have defects which are so glaring to all persons acquainted with the subject, but of which the government seems not to be perfectly aware. It must however be acknowledged, that the art of watering silks has been brought to as great perfection at Valencia as in any part of Europe. The Valencians owe this superiority to one of their countrymen, Don Manuel Foz, an enlightened manufacturer, who learned the secret of the natives of the Levant, during a tour in Turkey undertaken expressly for that purpose.

But the other branches of the manufactures of Valencia have not for some years been improved so much as there was reason to expect. The fault lies in the system which the Spanish government pursues in regard to silks, and in the almost unconquerable attachment of the Valencians to the ancient processes.

The Patriotic Society of Valencia has, nevertheless, endeavoured, of late years, to contribute to the advancement of industry.* None of these Spanish societies has directed its attention with

* In spite of the exhortations and the rewards given by this society, the cultivation of the mulberry-tree has, of late years, rather diminished than increased, because it is not sufficiently encouraged by government, and efficacious measures are not adopted for putting a stop to the extension to the rice-grounds.

greater perseverance and success to useful establishments. It encourages the cultivation of the mulberry-tree, and improvements in the preparation of silk ; and adjudges prizes to the inventors of new machines which simplify the processes of the art.

The commerce of Valencia has sustained considerable injury from the two successive wars between Spain and England. Its port has almost entirely ceased to be frequented, and the productions of this beautiful country have experienced a considerable diminution both in their price and in their sale. The price of a pound of silk, for instance, has fallen from five to three piastres, which proves the truth of what we have already observed, that, notwithstanding the prohibition, a great quantity of silk is, in time of peace, exported from Valencia,

C H A P. XIII.

Environs of Valencia. Benimamet. Burjasot. Carthusian Convents. Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum. Coast of the Kingdom of Valencia. Modern Establishment of San Carlos. Passage of the Ebro.

IN the fine season, which in the kingdom of Valencia lasts almost the whole year, the environs of its capital are truly delightful. Numberless handsome rural habitations attract the notice of travellers. I would recommend to them in particular to visit the village of Benimamet, half a league from Valencia, and among its country-houses, that which was occupied about twenty years ago by Don Pedro Mayoral, a canon of the cathedral. It stands upon an eminence, in the center of a garden where orange and lemon trees diffuse their fragrant perfumes through the purest atmosphere. The coolness of the alleys, the variety of prospects, the fertility which appears on every side, render it an enchanting retreat. Here, and in a hundred other places in the kingdom of Valencia, we are convinced of the truth of the

observation of a native of Sweden,* with whom I was acquainted at Paris, in the quality of am-

* I allude to the Count de Creutz, who arrived in Spain as minister from Sweden in 1764, and resided several years in that country. He was the writer of the letter dated Madrid, February 4th, 1765, and inserted in the last volume of the posthumous works of Marmontel. The Count de Creutz there describes Spain in a spirit of invective rather than in that of a judicious observer. His rude sketch even exhibits various features which are at least highly caricatured, if not utterly false. In proof of this assertion, I shall quote the following passage: "The inhabitants of this dreary region, plunged in darkness and the most disgraceful ignorance, are proud of their blindness. Freedom of thought and action appears to them an object of contempt. Their genius, parched up like their plains, produces nothing but shapeless embryos, and rises only by leaps and bounds. The common people, whose subsistence is consumed by the monks, crushed by the immense weight of superstition and of arbitrary power, stagnate in idleness and indigence, and have not even the courage to complain." Had a Frenchman expressed such an opinion respecting Spain, even in 1765, would he ever have been forgiven for it to the south of the Pyrenees?

Further on the Count de Creutz shews much less severity when speaking of the inquisition, which, just at the period when he wrote, was exposed to the most vehement attacks of philosophy. "This tribunal," says he, "which struck terror into kings themselves, is now a mere phantom, incapable of frightening even a child."

And it is a philosopher, a protestant who thus expresses himself concerning the inquisition! The truth however is, that this philosopher, this protestant, was guilty of a little exaggeration in 1765. The holy office was assuredly less formidable then than under Philip IV.: though its thunder-

bassador from his court, when he said: "In that highly-favoured region we forget every thing, even our native country, business and all. A person is no longer a husband, a father, or a friend; he is a being cut off from the rest of his fellow-creatures, feasting on the beauties of nature, and drinking deeply of the happiness of existence." In the garden which reminds me of this exaggeration, and which would justify it, if any thing could, I received, on my first visit to Valencia, such a welcome from the excellent Canon Mayoral, as I shall never forget. His soul and his countenance seemed to partake of the serenity which reigned around him. He was profuse in his attentions to me, as nature had been liberal to him of her blessings. He is no more. *Sit illi terra levis.*

A quarter of a league from Benimamet is Burjasot, another village, in a more elevated situation. Besides the tomb of Mademoiselle l'Advenant, a celebrated actress, the le Couvreur of Spain; but who, more fortunate than the latter, obtained without difficulty an asylum at the foot

bolts were launched at very few, it still continued to frighten children, and even a good many adults.

Ten or twelve years later, at the time of the confinement of M. Olavidé, the Count de Creutz would doubtless have altered his sentiments, but then he would have run into the opposite extreme. The Count was one of the best poets of his country; and poets, even when they write in prose, seldom pique themselves on a strict adherence to truth.

of the altar, travellers are shewn, as one of the curiosities of the country, the *Sichas* or *Silhos*, which are large excavations, from twenty-five to thirty-five feet deep, in the form of prodigious jars, lined internally with free-stone. They were constructed by the Moors, for the purpose of storing their grain in them. The modern Valencians apply them to their original destination.

Twenty other situations around Valencia are deserving of the notice of travellers. If they would wish to see a beautiful Franciscan convent, let them pay a visit to that of San Miguel de los Reyes. They may make an excursion to three Carthusian monasteries in the environs of Valencia, all of which are in charming situations. One of these, called *Porta Celi*, is worthy of particular mention; every thing there announces abundance; every thing tends to produce serenity of soul. Had we even vowed enmity to the monastic life, we could not help feeling a certain degree of interest for these silent recluses, who cannot be accused of neglecting the gifts which nature has poured forth around their habitation. Austere only in what regards themselves, their peaceful and laborious lives cannot justly be looked upon as useless to the community at large. I went into some of their cells, which are remarkable for cleanliness and elegant simplicity. I likewise paid a visit to their burial-ground,

the modest inclosure of which is formed by palm trees that overshadow their tombs. Rose-bushes were planted around them, as if to prevent their remains from infecting the air which is respired in this sacred spot. I regretted that men have not every where endeavoured in the same way, to exhibit death under a less hideous form, and to banish from the grave those images which render it so frightful. Why, thought I, should we be at such pains to strew with funereal objects, and to surround with horrors, a path which we are all doomed to tread? Why not rather smooth this passage for each other, that we may descend to the tomb, if not with joy, at least with serenity? Far then from the bed of death, far from the graves of the departed, be every thing that is calculated to excite gloomy apprehensions in the minds of the survivors! Let us enjoy without excess, and consequently without remorse, the blessings which the earth affords; and when the organized dust, which for a few moments is animated by the breath of life, shall be required of us by that common mother of mankind, let it serve to fertilize her bosom, and, if possible, to embellish her surface!

But let us leave Valencia, and the beautiful scenery around it, and continue our journey to Barcelona.

After passing through Valencia, the first re-

markable place which the traveller comes to is the ancient Saguntum, now called Murviedro. The castles which command the town may be seen at the distance of two leagues. You would take them at first for the remains of the ramparts which the intrepid Saguntines defended with such obstinacy against the Carthaginian hero; but you afterwards learn that they were erected by the Moors. On the heights upon which these castles are situated, they built seven fortresses, communicating with each other by subterraneous passages, some of which are yet almost entire. It appears that Saguntum reached no higher than half way up these hills, and stood chiefly in the plain towards the sea, extending considerably beyond the present site of Murviedro; since Livy informs us that it was only a thousand paces from it, and Murviedro is a long league from the Mediterranean. In confirmation of this opinion, it is remarked, that no relics of the Carthaginians and Romans have been found nearer to the Moorish fortresses than the foot of the hill upon which they stand.

Stones with Phœnician or Latin inscriptions are still found scattered through Murviedro. The latter are the most numerous. Some of them are introduced into walls, and five in excellent preservation may be seen in those of a church. A few are to be met with on the side of the hill, and even still higher, but they were probably carried

thither by the Moors, together with other stones for the purpose of building. Thus in one of the walls of their ancient fortresses we find an antique statue of white marble without a head, and some stones with inscriptions, but in an inverted position.

The monuments, whose ruins are still to be seen at Murviedro, were founded at the period when the Romans, after the valiant defence of the Saguntines and the destruction of their city, rebuilt the place, and made it one of their *municipia*, one of the most flourishing towns they possessed out of Italy. Among other edifices, it contained a temple of Bacchus, some relics of which are to be seen to the left, near the entrance of Murviedro. Its Mosaic pavement, which negligence had nearly suffered to be lost, has been taken up and deposited in the archiepiscopal library.

You may still discover the foundations of the ancient circus of Saguntum, upon which now stand the walls that serve to inclose a long succession of orchards. This circus, as it is easy to perceive, extended to a small river, the bed of which only remains, and which was the chord of the segment formed by the circus. When the Saguntines exhibited the mock sea-fights, called *Naumachia*, this bed was undoubtedly filled by the tributes of the neighbouring canals, which still exist.

But of all that remains of ancient Saguntum, nothing is in such good preservation as its theatre. You perceive very distinctly the different rows of seats occupied by the citizens according to their rank. At the bottom in the place allotted in our theatres to the orchestra, were the seats of the magistrates; next, those for the equestrian order; and then those for the body of the people. You may still see the two doorways, by which the magistrates entered; two others exclusively reserved for the knights; and almost at the top of this amphitheatre, which continues without interruption, from the bottom upwards; you observe the two passages by which the multitude withdrew, and which the ancients on that account denominated *vomitoria*. Lastly you find still entire the highest seats which were appropriated to the lictors and courtizans. The semicircular crest of the whole edifice is also perfectly entire. You may even perceive, on the outside, the projecting stones, in which were inserted the bars that served to spread the horizontal covering of cloth, which sheltered the spectators from the sun and rain; for the ancients, in their public exhibitions, foresaw and provided for every contingency. Every person had a seat, and was screened from the weather. All possible precautions were taken to prevent disorder. A place, which may still be seen, was set apart for the judges. If any spectator drew upon him-

self their animadversion, they directed the lictors to seize and conduct him to a particular chamber, to which they had access by a private staircase. Here they interrogated him, and if they found him culpable, he was confined till the conclusion of the exhibition in a prison under the chamber in which he was examined.

Dean Marti, who has given a minute description of the ancient theatre of Saguntum, computes the number of spectators which it was capable of containing, at nine thousand. Many persons will find it difficult to conceive how the actors were able to make themselves heard in the open air by so numerous an audience. I however ascertained in 1783, that this was possible, by going to the top of the amphitheatre, while certain sentences were repeated by a lad stationed on the spot formerly occupied by the stage.

Of this place no vestiges then remained. Beyond the amphitheatre, in which some of the stages of seats towards the centre are considerably decayed, scarcely any traces of the part occupied by the actors was to be found. It exhibited nothing but a few trees and ruins. The front of the ancient stage had been converted into an alley of mulberry-trees, where rope-makers were carrying on their walking business. No care whatever was taken to preserve this valuable monument of antiquity. A keeper, it is true, had a habitation there, which he enlarged

or changed as he thought fit. Some families of poor mechanics had built within it wretched huts, for which the Romans, almost twenty centuries before, had constructed walls and a roof. Never was Time better assisted, nay even anticipated, in his ravages.

At length, in 1787, a beginning was made to retrieve them. The corregidor of Murviedro restoring animation, if I may so express myself, to this skeleton of a Roman theatre, caused the principal injuries it had sustained to be repaired, and restored it for a few hours to its ancient use by the representation of a Spanish comedy within its walls.

Don Louis de Urbina, one of the last captains-general of the kingdom of Valencia, had in 1796 carried these repairs still further. Under his auspices, workmen were employed to render the theatre of Saguntum fit for the purpose for which it was originally designed. Don Francisco Bamahonda, a poet of Valencia, had composed a tragedy, the subject of which was worthy of the country and of the theatre: it was the siege of Saguntum, that noble spirit of independence which covered with ashes, blood, and glory, this spot so dear to honour and to liberty. But this praiseworthy plan has been relinquished; at least we are assured that all thoughts of restoring the theatre of Saguntum are given up,

and that it is abandoned as before to the observations of antiquaries.*

From the theatre, you climb to the ancient fortresses of the Moors, which crown the hill, and on the platform on the summit is an humble hermitage, the inhabitant of which enjoys one of the finest prospects in Spain. It commands the fertile plains between Murviedro and Valencia. He beholds the steeples of that capital rising from amidst the orchards by which it is surrounded. Before him he has the Mediterranean, the whole coast of which from Murviedro to the sea-side is covered with vines, olive and mulberry trees. To the left a chain of hills bounds the horizon, and gradually sinks to the Mediterranean, leaving no other interval between them than that occupied by the road to Barcelona.

The wine produced in the environs of Murviedro is strong and of a good flavour; but most of it is converted into brandy, which is conveyed in barrels to the small port, which is about a league from the town; there it is shipped for the north, for some other parts of Europe, especially Franco, and for Spanish America, which, since the establishment of a free trade, affords a ready market for the brandies of the coast of Va-

It was Townsend, an English traveller, who chiefly contributed to excite the transient attention that was bestowed on his monument of antiquity.

After leaving Murviedro, the road, which was excellent, led through prodigious plains, shaded with olive and carob trees, fertile vineyards, and scenes of the most enchanting fertility, to Castellon de la Plana, a village seven leagues from Valencia.

At the distance of one long league from Murviedro, we halted at Almenara, a town agreeably situated on an eminence. Here I found five French clergymen expelled from Roussillon, to whom the Spanish government had given an asylum in a convent of Dominicans. It was natural for these expatriated ecclesiastics to seek refuge in preference in a neighbouring country, and that country the catholic kingdom, by way of eminence. Accordingly, during a journey of eighteen days, I came to very few places but what contained some of them. They at first fixed their abode in the capitals and the chief cities of the peninsula, hoping to find in them more numerous means of subsistence than elsewhere. Here they excited the twofold interest inspired by pity and persecuted religion. The staunch catholics carried their blind veneration for these victims of orthodoxy to such a length as to prefer them to their own priests; so that want obliged the latter to retail at a lower price the spiritual blessings entrusted to their care. The cause of man, however, soon triumphed over that of heaven. The Spaniards took umbrage at

the success of these intruders ; and, either in consequence of their remonstrances, or because the government deemed it dangerous to suffer delicate questions relative to the rights of sovereigns and subjects to be discussed by the mass of the people, it resolved to disperse the French ecclesiastics. Orders were issued that they should not in future remain either in the metropolis, in the royal residences, or in the capitals of the provinces. The court assigned them abodes at the convents in the country, and fixed the number of emigrants that each of them was allowed to admit.

But to return to Almenara. From this handsome town to Castellon de la Plana, the country is not quite so pleasant, though it is still populous, and enlivened by industry. We went through Nulis and Villa-Real, two considerable towns, and on quitting the latter we passed, by means of a very fine new bridge, over a broad river that was almost dry. a circumstance which frequently occurs in Spain, especially in summer.

At Castellon you come to the end of the good roads. Nothing can be more abrupt than the transition. After you have descended an extremely rugged declivity, you approach the sea, which you keep in view for a league. You then pass through a very steep defile, and are dreadfully jolted till you arrive at the foot of the

eminence, close to the shore of the Mediterranean, on which is situated the castle of Oropesa. You then proceed more smoothly for a league and a half to the venta de la Simieta. From Castellon the fertility of the soil perceptibly decreases. The country all around about the defile of Oropesa, is utterly destitute of inhabitants, and exhibits a most dreary spectacle. Beyond this place it displays some marks of cultivation; but the rugged roads continue without intermission to Alcala de Sibert, a kind of town situated on the side of a hill in a country neither agreeable nor fertile.

You now again approach the Mediterranean, and come to the last sea-port towns of Valencia.

The first that you reach, by a rough road which winds among the mountains, is Benicarlo, chiefly inhabited by fishermen. Here begin the flat roofs and the dialect of Catalonia, a corrupt kind of Spanish, which bears a considerable resemblance to the *patois* of Roussillon, and without some knowledge of which a traveller would find it almost impossible to make himself understood in Catalonia.

A long league from Benicarlo is another port of greater consequence, that of Viñaroz, a large handsome town, containing eleven or twelve hundred houses. The environs of Benicarlo and Viñaroz are covered with vineyards, the pro-

duce of which is partly converted into brandy for exportation.

The wines of Benicarlo are exported to foreign countries, and especially to Bourdeaux, where they are mixed with the French wines, for the purpose of adapting the latter to the taste of the consumers in England and Ireland. It has been calculated that of late years no less than eleven thousand hogsheads of these wines of Benicarlo are sent to Bourdeaux; and it would be impolitic to throw any impediments in the way of this trade, since it is not less profitable to France than to Spain.

Viñaroz is not, strictly speaking, a sea-port; nevertheless, I found there about fifty vessels, which, instead of being moored along the shore, were drawn out of the water upon the beach. Many of these vessels are employed in the coasting trade to Cadiz, and even to Marseilles, and some of them venture as far as the Havannah.

A league beyond Viñaroz the good road again began in 1793, at a small bridge recently constructed on the spot which forms the boundary between Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia; and it continues for three leagues to San Carlos, a modern settlement which deserves some notice.

San Carlos is situated close to the sea. It is the chief place of the establishment of the *Alfaques*, the appellation given to a kind of port formed by the mouth of the Ebro. The Alfa-

ques are, properly speaking, a long narrow neck of land of a semicircular form, which is nothing but a prolongation of the right bank of the river. San Carlos stands opposite to the point of this neck of land, and it is the landing-place for this part of the coast. It consists of two handsome edifices which border the high road. A large oblong space separates them from another row of uniform houses, one of which is one of the best inns in Spain. It is very clean, well furnished, and affords good accommodation in respect to provisions; but the traveller is inclined to ask why this inn, like so many others in Spain, is kept by natives of Milan? The Mediterranean washes the foot of its walls. At the time of my visit in 1793, the works for the new port were still in hand. The object of this establishment, begun in 1780, was to people a peninsula, before deserted and abandoned; and to render the mouth of the Ebro useful to commerce and navigation. In this narrow peninsula there were more than two thousand acres of land to be distributed; but few colonists had settled there, because great part of these lands belonged to the inhabitants of Amposta and the neighbouring villages, who cultivated them without forsaking their homes. It was the intention of the government to form in this place a spacious port, and to facilitate the passage of the Ebro, which is much impeded below Amposta. To this end a canal was begun

at the latter place, and was designed to be carried on in a direct line to San Carlos. This work was so far advanced in 1793 that all the building materials necessary for the new establishment were conveyed in barges upon it. By making this canal deeper it is intended to render it fit for the navigation from Amposta to San Carlos, so as to make the Ebro navigable to its mouth. The want of money produced some relaxation in the prosecution of this plan. In 1793 a battery was begun to be erected in front of San Carlos. All these works were under the direction of a native of Parma, named Nodin, a skilful engineer, to whom all their success is owing. But once more let us repeat the question, why do the Spaniards leave to the Italians the task of embellishing, of enlivening, and of fortifying their coasts?

For the rest no great progress had been made with this establishment in the spring of 1793, and will probably never answer the expectations of the court.* The largest ships may, however, come to anchor within a musket-shot of San Carlos; and here, during my stay, were disembarked most of the regiments proceeding from different parts of the coast of the Mediterranean to Catalonia. But the air of San Carlos is unhealthy; and it is not at the mere intimation of

* This prediction is accomplished, since 1793, large sums have been expended on this settlement of San Carlos, but it is still in a very unfinished state.

cities so considerable as Valencia and Barcelona, so near to the sea-coast, and to the mouth of a large river, on a road so much frequented by people of every description, and even of every nation; to find, I say, extensive districts so 'totally destitute of resources, and of all the 'conveniences and comforts which in every other 'country are the inseparable companions of civilization and luxury. This is a reflection which the most superficial observer cannot help making, especially from the banks of the Ebro to the vicinity of Barcelona. I question whether a person in the center of Siberia; or in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Bothnia, would think himself more completely cut off from the rest of the world.

Attempts have, it is true, been made of late years, to render the road by which we are conducting our readers more passable. In 1802, the king and queen having paid a visit to Barcelona, for the purpose of meeting the princes and princesses of Naples and Etruria, in order to contract a double marriage; orders were given to repair the road from Valencia to Barcelona; but the hurry with which the work was executed, was incompatible with the necessary solidity. This road is nevertheless one of the best in Spain; nay, in summer, it may even be pronounced excellent, from Valencia to the frontiers of France; but a week of rainy weather is sufficient to render it not only difficult but dangerous, especially

from Tarragon to Barcelona. The Spaniards are still almost total strangers to the art of paving; neither are they very expert in the construction of roads, which require covering to a certain depth according to the nature of the ground and of the materials that are employed for the purpose. Though there are few places where these may not be found of excellent quality, as very hard flints, coarse gravel, and granite, all they do is to spread over the middle of the road stones of all sizes, among which the strongest carriages run the risk of being broken to pieces; or if their rugged surface is covered with a little sand, the winds and rain soon blow and wash it away. Such, notwithstanding the recent repairs, is the road from Valencia to Barcelona; but let us continue to shew what it was in 1793, and what it remained till 1802.

From Perellos it is but two short leagues to the venta del Platera, a lonely inn embosomed in woods at the foot of the mountains. We there met with some merchants who gave us no great encouragement in respect to the journey of next day, especially when they saw our numerous company, of which two young children formed not the least troublesome portion.

We set out before six o'clock to encounter the hardships of the day, myself on foot, my wife on one of the animals which we had hired at Perellos, and our two children, one on either side of

the other, in panniers, where we wrapped them up as well as we could against the severity of the north-east wind. We thus proceeded at first for two leagues and a half through a dreary country, and then climbed in a spiral direction, the steep mountain of Ballaguet, the base of which is washed by the sea. On reaching its summit, we found ourselves at the foot of a fort, which is garrisoned by a detachment of Walloon guards.

Four leagues further, after we had passed through a village on the sea-shore, with a tower and the remains of an ancient castle, and several very rugged defiles, we arrived at Cambrils, a town containing three or four hundred houses, near an incommodious beach, where a few vessels take in cargoes of the wines of the country. Its situation is unhealthy, and renders tertian fevers very frequent on this coast. This disease had shortly before swept away all the inhabitants of a convent of Augustines, whose solitary walls were pointed out to us.

At Cambrils was the home of an unfortunate family of pilgrims, in whose company we ascended the mountain of Ballaguet. They had been in quest of health, to a miraculous image at Viñaroz, and returned more wretched than they went. A mother, four or five young girls, barefoot, and covered with rags, and two small children, benumbed with cold, and exhausted by want, with difficulty pursued their homeward course, imploring by the way the compassion of travellers, some-

times more easily moved than that of heaven. With what melancholy reflections did these victims of fortune and of superstition inspire us ! These forlorn objects returned on foot, without relief, from a fatiguing and fruitless journey, and yet appeared resigned ; while I presumed to complain of the rugged ways which jolted my carriage, closely shut up from the cold, well hung, and stored with what was necessary, useful, and even agreeable. I could not forbear reproaching myself both for these conveniencies and for my murmurs ; nay, I had nearly done the same in respect to the modest way in which my children and their mother travelled. I pacified my remorse by a donation which was at first received with gratitude and joy ; but the principal pilgrim soon cooled my sympathy, by her importunities, and her want of feeling for the poor little creatures whom she carried or dragged along with her, and above all by offering to tell me my fortune. I had taken her for a religious woman, and an affectionate mother, and my heart was chilled to find that she was nothing but an artful gipsy. How often would the warm glow of compassion give place to harsher sentiments, if it were always aware of the character of its objects. But it is perhaps an ordination of heaven in favour of the unfortunate, that it frequently acts with the unreflecting promptitude of instinct.

Cambrils has a bad port, which is frequented only by a few vessels, which there take in freights for Cadiz, Genoa, and other places. When they are overtaken here by tempestuous weather, they run for shelter into the little harbour of Saló, only half a league distant.

From Cambrils we proceeded four leagues, by a very narrow and rugged road, and after passing through the pretty town of Villaseca, we arrived at Serafina, where we put up for the night.

We quitted the Ebro, on the left bank of which river we left Tortosa, situated on the side of a mountain, four leagues from the sea. It is an episcopal city, containing sixteen thousand souls. The circumjacent country is highly cultivated, and from its position on the Ebro, which is deep enough to be navigated by large vessels, it carries on a considerable trade in corn. At the distance of less than a league from this place are the quarries of marble, known by the name of Tortosa jasper. Nothing can be more dreary and desert than the fifteen leagues which separate this city from the town of Cambrils, and the road from Tortosa to Tarragon remained till 1782, one of the worst in the universe.

Beyond Cambrils the plain becomes wider, and is enlivened with numerous plantations of olives, carob-trees, and vines.

A league beyond Serafina, you come in sight

of the steeples of Tarragon, an ancient city, in a picturesque situation, on a steep and craggy eminence. Founded by the Scipios, it was long the seat of the Roman government in Spain. The sea washes its walls, and forms a small port, which has lost much of its trade since that of Reus began to be frequented.

Reus is a small modern town, which industry has in a short space of time raised to a high degree of prosperity. It is an inland place about four leagues to the north-west of Tarragon, from which it is separated by one of the most fertile and best cultivated plains in Spain. The trade carried on by the inhabitants of Reus, is considerable, and principally consists of commissions from houses at Barcelona for goods to send back in return for the commodities which they receive from the north. Besides this, some Swedish, Danish, and American captains go themselves to Reus to purchase wine and brandy for exportation. The inhabitants of this town convey to the little port of Salo, and there ship the productions of their industry, and a plan has lately been proposed for digging a small canal to facilitate the communication between those two places. Reus is one of those wonderful creations, which a traveller cannot help making a circuit of a few leagues to see and to admire. He will there find, under the direction of an English firm, one of the finest distilleries in Europe, a

very handsome theatre, some beautiful barracks, and a general appearance of activity and abundance. Great quantities of leather are also made here, as well as at the town of Bails or Valls, which is only three leagues to the north east of Reus.

The inhabitants of the ancient Tarragon are not idle spectators of the success of these youthful rivals. In the hope of restoring to their port its primitive prosperity, they have undertaken to improve it at their own expence, by moles which will render it more safe and commodious. The court has encouraged them to accomplish this design by certain concessions, and an exemption from various duties. The wars in which Spain has been almost uninterruptedly engaged for thirteen years, have not deterred them from the prosecution of this patriotic work. It has not yet been crowned with all the success that might have been expected from it; but the port of Tarragon nevertheless displays a renewed activity, and its trade cannot fail to become still more brisk. In the course of the year 1805 it was visited by one thousand seven hundred and fourteen vessels of all sizes, 208 with square, and 1506 with lateen sails. Out of this number 1515 were Spanish. By this channel Catalonia received upwards of 150,000 *fanegas** of grain,

* It will be recollected that the *fanega* is a corn-measure, the contents of which weigh between 90 and 100 pounds.

pulse and other provisions. At this port the Danes, Swedes, and Americans ship part of the wines produced by the adjacent country, and particularly of the brandy distilled there. The wines for which there is the greatest request abroad, are those grown in the extensive tract denominated *Campo de Tarragona*, and in the vineyards of Reus; and it is in these districts that the greatest quantity of brandy is made. The inhabitants of Tarragon are likewise about to open another channel of prosperity, the benefit of which will be felt throughout Arragon and part of Catalonia. They have recently obtained permission to make a road from their city to Lerida, which will shorten by two days journey their communication with the interior of Arragon.

Just before you enter Tarragon, you are obliged to ford the Francoli, which, very near this spot discharges itself into the sea. Tarragon was formerly a fortified place. Part of its ancient walls are still standing. When I passed through it in 1793, a fort with thick embrasures had just been erected, for the purpose of defending at least the approaches from the sea. The traveller may pursue his way to Barcelona, without entering Tarragon. Wishing to have a near view of that celebrated city, I climbed up to it by a rugged path. I was struck with the beauty of its situation, but the interior of the place seemed dull and

desert. The avenues on every side are encumbered with rocks and the approach is extremely difficult for carriages. The cathedral is a handsome edifice, but gloomy, and supported by columns of prodigious size.

Tarragon abounds in relics of Roman monuments. Such are the remains of a circus, and of an amphitheatre, the ruins of a palace of the emperor Augustus, a great number of Roman inscriptions, and in particular the vestiges of an aqueduct, between six and seven leagues in length, which it was proposed to repair in 1782.

On quitting the city by the gate which leads to Barcelona, you return by an abrupt descent into the high road. The environs of Tarragon are nevertheless agreeable and populous. Handsome houses extend in almost uninterrupted succession from the city to the hamlet of La Figarella, which is a short league distant from it.

Two long leagues further, you pass under a beautiful triumphal arch, which though doubtless formerly designed to commemorate some exploit, in a frequented spot, stands at present quite detached in the midst of a lonely country. It is in good preservation, except the capitals, which seem to have been of the Corinthian order, and which some attempts have been made to restore. The Spanish antiquaries have no hesitation in ascribing it to the time of Trajan. A league to the right of the road is another monument much

more decayed, and known by the appellation of the tower of the Scipios, because tradition asserts that two Romans of that name were there interred. Though all its figures are defaced by time, the spectator may still distinguish two slaves in the attitude of grief.

A little beyond the triumphal arch, you come to the handsome village of Altafolla, in a charming situation and to another called Torre del Embarr, seated on an eminence by the sea-side. The latter has a kind of road which is visited by a few vessels.

All this country through which we travelled in the beginning of March, which, in Catalonia, is the most agreeable season of the year, was particularly pleasant on account of the mildness of the air, the variety of cultivation, and the beauty of many situations. We had nothing to find fault with but the roughness of the roads. This cause of complaint has been, in a great measure, removed by the works undertaken in 1802.

A few leagues beyond Torre del Embarr, is the large village of Vendrell, where Aubert, the French consul at Barcelona had some possessions. With pleasure I observed in its neighbourhood, a handsome newly built mansion, that really deserved the name of a country-house, agreeably situated on the side of a hill. I was informed that it had been recently erected, and was constantly inhabited by M. Pera de Soulès, who, unlike most

of his countrymen, had exclusively devoted his life to the pursuits of rural economy. In a country where the fine season lasts nine or ten months of the year, where the winter is scarcely felt and never totally divests the fields of their verdure, it is rather extraordinary that this preference of a country life should be so rare.

Beyond Vendrell you proceed through a naked country to the handsome village of Villafrauca, and on leaving that place, you have before you a chain of mountains which bounds the horizon on almost every side. Here is situated the celebrated convent of Montserrat, the solitary abode of those recluses who have engaged the attention of more than one traveller, and among whom I was informed that some French prelates had shortly before taken refuge.

The monastery of Montserrat is eight leagues to the north-west of Barcelona. The only place worthy of notice in this interval, is the town of Terrasa, known for its manufactures of fine woollen cloths. On the brow of a lofty mountain is situated the convent adjoining to the church, which is one of the most remarkable monuments of sumptuous devotion. It contains eighty silver lamps, chandeliers, shrines, crosses, busts of the same metal, crowns enriched with precious stones, and magnificent apparel, all appropriated to the decoration of a wonder-working image of the blessed Virgin.

What extravagant profusion in the midst of a country, where industry yet requires so much encouragement ! I am not the advocate either for the profanation or the forcible plunder of temples. These abrupt reformatations, these paroxysms of persecution, presuppose and are attended with other excesses. Commanded perhaps by reason, they are accomplished by madness, and the scandal which they occasion, is one of the least of the evils that result from them. But, thought I, were these treasures, now so uselessly hoarded up, applied to the facilitating of the communication between Valencia and Barcelona, and between Barcelona and Saragossa, to the improvement of the interior of Catalonia, of which too favourable an opinion is formed by those who have seen nothing of it but the coasts, they would not confer less honor on the image to which they are consecrated, neither would those to whose care they are entrusted be less happy or less revered.

The recluses of Montserrat are thirteen or fourteen in number. Their hermitages are scattered over the side of the mountain, and occupy a space of near two leagues up to its summit. The highest, that of St. Jerome, commands a magnificent view over plains of immense extent. From this spot the eye expatiates over rivers, whose courses it pursues, cities, islands, and the expanded bosom of the Mediterranean. The tenants of these soli-

tary retreats cannot be supposed to have much relish for beauties which daily meet their view : but setting aside that devotion which has been so bitterly calumniated, but whose illusions would embellish the most dreary desert, they here lead a tranquil and even agreeable life, without having any prescribed task to perform, without any anxiety in respect to a livelihood, without remorse, but not without austerity. In the midst of their useless wealth, in the bosom of abundance, they limit themselves to a happy mediocrity, and the hospitality which they shew to travellers is almost their only expence. Philosophy might proscribe, and policy attempt to reform, but cruelty alone could find in its heart to curse them. But to return to the route to Barcelona.

Beyond Villafranca the road was already marked out and even begun upon, but it was at that time so exceedingly neglected, so dreadfully encumbered with rocks, that a hundred times I wished it had not yet been planned except upon paper. The bridges were the only part on which due attention had been bestowed. At one of them, distant a quarter of a league from the inn called the *Ostal d'Orda*, we found a piece of excellent road, after which, turning short to the right, we came to one so bad, that it can scarcely be matched in Spain. We tumbled, in a manner, down a narrow, steep, rugged road, which borders a deep valley. To avoid this passage which

was at that time really frightful, but has since been repaired; a bold plan had been formed, the object of which was to join the two opposite mountains by a kind of bridge of three stories. The projectors had not maturely weighed the difficulties of this undertaking, which it was found necessary to relinquish; but the very plan has in it something extremely striking. A foot-path which leads across the valley, enters the arches of this triple bridge, and enables the spectator to embrace the gigantic whole.

Beyond this wall the traveller found himself, even in 1793, on a tolerable road, which leads to one of the finest bridges in Europe. It is five hundred and forty paces long, and extends across the whole broad bed of the little river Llobregat. It takes its name from a village which you come to beyond it, Molinos del Rey, or Remolinos. The country through which you pass before you reach it, is picturesque but wild. Lofty mountains bound almost the whole horizon. On their prodigious sides you behold the conflict of industry and sterility. The plough has turned up every part that is not absolutely inaccessible.

C H A P. XV

Enclaves and Interior of Barcelona. Fortress of Montjony. Details relative to Catalonia. Corçera. Diocese of Solsona. Mine of Cardener. Lerida. Course of the Segre.

A FINE road conducts from Los Molinos del Rey to Barcelona, a distance of four leagues. Nothing can be more delightful, more lively, more luxuriant than the country adjacent to that capital, which is worthy, in every point of view, of the notice of the traveller. Its port contributes greatly to its embellishment, though neither good nor capacious. It is even likely to be entirely choked up, unless a speedy remedy be applied. The sea has sensibly receded from it within half a century. A space of fifty or sixty fathoms which was then covered with it is now dry. The Llobregat and the Besos, two small rivers which discharge themselves one on each side of Montjony, produce an accumulation of sand in that part; the bar formed in consequence, increases every year, and leaves to the ships that enter the port but narrow and variable passages, for which

they require the assistance of coast-pilots. It would be possible to check the progress of this evil, by giving another direction to the currents of the two rivers, and forming a new basin. A few years since some wealthy Dutchmen proposed to undertake the execution of this enterprise, if they might be allowed to levy certain dues for a limited time, but the court of Madrid either unwilling to increase the importance of Barcelona, which approaches the capital, and far surpasses Cadiz in population; or firmly adhering to the plan of promoting in preference the prosperity of Tarragon; or induced by some other political motive, gave no encouragement to the proposal of the Hollanders.

The port of Barcelona, such as it is, and as it will long continue in its state of progressive deterioration, is formed by a kind of bay situated between the citadel of Montjoui or Montjouich, the city of Barcelona, and Barcelonetta, a small modern town the residence of all the workmen employed in the dock-yard, and all the seamen both natives and foreigners. It is to the Marquis de la Mina, one of the last captains-general of Catalonia, that Spain is indebted for the foundation of this town, on a sandy spot, covered less than a century ago by the waters of the Mediterranean. The streets of Barcelonetta are all perfectly straight, and the houses uniform. They have been built only one story high, in order to

facilitate the superintendence over the turbulent class of people by which they are inhabited, and not to intercept the view of the sea from the houses in the city. The author of this excellent idea richly deserved the tomb which has been erected to his honor in the principal church of Barcelona.

The merchants of Barcelona are proprietors of between one hundred and one hundred and twenty vessels both of two and three masts. Full one-third of these are employed in time of peace, in conveying to America the productions of the soil and of the industry of Catalonia. The rest are engaged either in the commerce with the different ports in the Mediterranean, or in the brisk coasting-trade carried on from the confines of France to Cadiz. They have, besides, a multitude of smaller vessels with lateen sails, which confine themselves to the inferior branches of the latter.

That part of the city contiguous to the harbour, contains the objects most worthy of notice in Barcelona; the fine walk, in the form of a terrace, which runs along the port; the *Lonja*, a new edifice comprehending a drawing-school, a seminary for pilots and a commercial academy; the residence of the captain-general, which notwithstanding its defects, has a majestic appearance; and the new custom-house, a magnificent building which was scarcely finished in 1793.

There is not a city in Spain, where a greater appearance of activity, or more real industry prevail, notwithstanding the causes of idleness and depopulation which still exist in Barcelona, as well as in the rest of the kingdom. It contains eighty-two churchēs, twenty-seven convents of monks, eighteen nunneries, and several congregations. According to the enumeration of 1787, the inhabitants of Barcelona amounted to one hundred and eleven thousand four hundred and ten; it has now one hundred and sixty thousand including the religious houses, the garrison and Barcelonetta. In no part of the country has the increase of population been more rapid, if it be true, as we are assured, that in 1715, Barcelona contained only thirty-seven thousand souls, and that so late as the period of the landing of Charles III. in 1759, it had no more than fifty-three thousand. A circumstance which inclines us to believe this statement is the prodigious number of buildings erected within these few years, not only in the interior of the city, but also particularly in its environs; so that in the number and beauty of its country-houses Barcelona is surpassed by very few cities of France. Marseilles might in many respects be compared with it, and in some, is certainly superior to Barcelona: but its territory cannot be put in competition with that of the latter city, where you meet at one and the same time with beautiful scenery,

every variety of cultivation, the bustle of industry and all the symptoms of affluence. If to the charms of such a country we add the advantage of an atmosphere extremely pure ; a fertile soil, and a climate which, without being intensely hot, favors the growth of all the productions of warmer regions ; the concourse of foreigners who abound there ; a numerous garrison ; the means of instruction, afforded by several literary societies, a theatre of anatomy, the public libraries, a cabinet of natural history, which was highly esteemed by Tournefort, which he enriched with a valuable collection of plants from the Levant, and which, though belonging to a private individual, yet, for the variety and judicious selection of the curiosities of the three kingdoms of nature, might excite the envy of many a petty sovereign ; beautiful walks ; companies numerous and select ; that variety of occupations displayed by commerce and industry ; we shall be obliged to admit that few cities in Europe, offer such diversified pleasures as Barcelona.

The amateurs of the fine arts will here admire three pictures by Mengs ; and the lovers of antiquities will find six fluted columns of the Corinthian order, the remains of a magnificent edifice, respecting the destination of which the learned are not agreed ; the ruins of an amphitheatre, and of a bath ; several trunks of antique statues ; and lastly, a great number of inscrip-

tions which still continue to exercise the ingenuity of the literati.

In a military point of view also Barcelona is a place of great importance. The reader will recollect the long resistance which it made in 1714 to Marshal de Berwick, and the value which Philip V. attached to its conquest, without which he would not have thought himself securely seated upon the throne of Spain: and in the war with France, in the second half of which the latter obtained such advantages on the side of Catalonia, her victorious generals looked forward to the reduction of this city, as a decisive stroke. It owes its strength to the prodigious citadel which defends it on the east, and to Montjoui, which commands and protects it on the west. Montjoui is a mountain of considerable height, on whose summit there is a large fortress capable of containing a numerous garrison. It is fortified with great care towards the city, and remarkably steep on the side next to the sea. Though its appearance, at first sight, is highly imposing, the professional man who takes the trouble to examine it, soon discovers that it is too large, too much loaded with works, more massy, and expensive than it is possible for them to be useful, and above all, too high to be formidable to a besieging army encamped in the plain.

Barcelona is principally indebted for its splendor and opulence to its industry and the number

of its manufactures. The chief are those of cotton ; one hundred and fifty manufactories being engaged in the spinning of that material, and the same number in making printed calicoes. Those of bone-lace, blond-lace, ribbons, thread, furnish employment for twelve thousand persons, and as many are employed in the various branches of the silk manufacture.

These manufactures and others carried on in this province, have, however, fallen off considerably of late years, chiefly in consequence of the impediments which three successive wars have thrown in the way of the intercourse between Catalonia and Spanish America. One-third of the manufactories have been shut up. In the other two-thirds part of the hands have been discharged, and the conductors have suspended their orders for the raw materials. Last year (1805) and even at the present time, the gazette of Barcelona frequently announces the sale of spinning-machines. The war is not, however, the only circumstance that threatens the prosperity of Catalonia.

We must admit with the Spaniards themselves, that the inhabitants of Catalonia are active and industrious, but they are also obstinately attached to their old routine. They are tolerable imitators ; but sure of a market for their stuffs, however coarse and ill dyed they may be, they take no pains to invent or improve ; and while they have

been lulled to sleep by this fancied security, formidable rivals have started up in the Americans, who begin to smuggle the productions of their manufactures into the Spanish colonies. Lastly, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions which exist, establishments for dyeing and spinning have been formed at Mexico, and have opened markets for their goods in Peru. These various causes cannot fail to affect the manufactures of Catalonia, at least of those branches connected with dyeing and spinning. There are, however, others which, within the last twenty-five years in particular, have operated with rapidly increasing force. Catalonia, during this interval, has adopted several branches of French industry. The storms of the revolution drove from Lyons and Nîmes a great number of artisans who settled in Catalonia, where they introduced processes before unknown to the Spaniards, by means of which the latter are enabled to make finer stuffs, and even some of the mixed kinds. The French manufacturers have nevertheless no great reason to be alarmed. When Scanderbeg, at the request of Mahomet II. sent that monarch his tremendous sword, the emperor found himself unable to wield it. The hero of Epire, on being apprized of this, replied,—“The reason is because I did not send you my arm at the same time with my sword.” The manufactories of Catalonia, notwithstanding the valuable accession they have

received, are still far from possessing that assortment of hands, each skilful in a particular line, which conduces to the perfection of the productions of Lyons.

The stocking manufactures which have prodigiously increased in number within these twenty-five years, and to which late events have transferred a multitude of French artisans, are in the same predicament. The silk which they make use of is always nappy; let that defect proceed from whatever cause it will, either from the nature of the soil in which the mulberry trees are planted, or from the processes followed in the winding and spinning, or from the quality of the water, or from the construction of the machines employed in working it. In vain have certain manufacturers imported from France silk prepared for weaving; the stockings made of it have nearly the same faults; and setting aside all national prejudice, it may be asserted that Catalonia has not yet a single manufactory that produces silk stockings which are equal in beauty and wear to those of Paris and Lyons, or in fineness to those of Nîmes and Ganges.

The Catalonians have, on the other hand, almost entirely robbed France of the manufacture of hats, immense quantities of which were made at Lyons. In the single city of Barcelona there are upwards of twenty manufactories, which not only supply the demand for hats at home, but

export part of their commodities to Spanish America.

The cloth manufactures of Catalonia are not in a condition equally prosperous. The Catalonian cloths are not exempt from the defects of the finest kinds made in the other parts of the kingdom. They are all faulty in what is termed the reduction ; that is, they are neither close nor solid enough to admit of being shorn so smooth as the fine cloths of France and England. The warp is always too strong in comparison of the woof, and this disproportion is observable in the texture of every thing that is woven, whether it be thread, cotton, silk, or wool.

In the spinning of cotton very great improvements have been made in Catalonia within the last twenty or twenty-five years ; but the province is still unprovided with jennies for very fine work. The only sorts of cotton which are made use of are those of the Levant, or of Malta, or of the environs of Malaga, or lastly of the Spanish colonies. Old ordinances, which experience ought perhaps to have induced the government to repeal, exclude from Spain not only all other kinds, but likewise spun cottons of every description, and all stuffs containing the smallest portion of cotton of foreign production. We would ask the wise rulers of Spain, whether any thing can be better calculated to doom their manufactures to an incurable mediocrity, notwithstanding the

improvements introduced into them by the considerable emigration of French workmen, than thus to deprive their manufacturers of the raw materials of the best quality, and to keep out of their sight those foreign stuffs which might serve them for patterns, and excite the emulation of the native artisans ?

The manufacturers of Catalonia have derived greater advantage from the assistance of the French in respect to the improvement of the art of dyeing. Within these seven or eight years they have made themselves masters of the secret of dyeing cotton red. At Barcelona and in its district there are twelve or fifteen establishments of this kind, that have been formed by French refugees, and where they begin to produce colours of a beauty and durability that leave very little room for further improvement.

The cultivation of madder, to which considerable attention has for some years been paid in the environs of Tortosa and Valencia, cannot fail to promote the progress of this branch of industry ; especially since the Catalonians have recently acquired a perfect knowledge of the art of grinding that plant, and adapting it to the dyeing of their cottons. Spain abounds no less in minerals than in vegetables suitable for dyeing ; but this source of wealth has been long neglected. The Catalonians, aided by French artisans, expatriated from our southern provinces, have

lately made some successful experiments of this kind. They have, in particular, discovered the art of making salt of lead fit for the use of their calico manufactures.

Such are the latest particulars we have been able to collect relative to the state of industry and manufactures in Catalonia.

We should entertain rather too favourable an opinion of this province, were we to form a judgment of it from its capital, and some of the cities at a greater or less distance from the coast. In the interior of Catalonia, there are many desert tracts, many that it would be difficult to render productive; but industry has fixed its abode wherever it could obtain access. Notwithstanding the falls of wood which have become more frequent since the reign of Ferdinand VI., Catalonia still contains a sufficient quantity for fuel, for the consumption of its manufactures, and even for ship-building, though it receives large supplies of timber from Russia, Holland, England, and Italy. Cork-trees (*alcornoques*) are particularly numerous in its forests; and this province annually sends twenty-five ship-loads of cork to the north, and a great quantity of corks, ready cut, to Paris. Catalonia also contains many walnut-trees, which are much used by the carpenter and cabinet-maker, besides an immense quantity of almond, hazle, orange, and fig-trees, whose fruits are exported in abund-

ance to the northern countries. The only kind of wood of which it has not a sufficiency to supply its wants, is that of which pipe-staves are made.

Catalonia, notwithstanding its present flourishing state, is not so populous as it might be. It contains one million three hundred and fifty-two thousand four hundred inhabitants. Its population was formerly more considerable. In those times this province was perhaps more industrious. It is certain, for instance, that in the fifteenth century, the cloths manufactured at Barcelona were exported to Naples, to Sicily, and even to Alexandria. The modern Catalonians, it must be admitted, are more anxious to do a great deal than to execute their work well. Good taste does not yet preside over their labours; and they are still strangers to the art of giving to the productions of their industry that finish which tempts the consumer. Some other causes impede their progress. The roads, the grand medium of commerce, are in general extremely neglected in Catalonia. This province is far from having availed itself of all its mineral treasures. What a variety of marbles it contains! How many mines might be opened! There are, in particular, several of coal; but though various proposals have been made to work them, difficulties have been always thrown in the way. Among the rest, one of great importance

has been discovered at Montanola, in the diocese of Vique.

Next to Barcelona the principal city in Catalonia is Lerida, distant twenty-five leagues from the capital. In this interval, you meet every hour with towns or villages, except in the last four leagues. The five first lead through a country abounding in the gifts of nature, and enriched by the efforts of industry. The tract over which the next four leagues conduct you, exhibits a striking proof of the enterprising activity of the Catalonians.

Further on you come to the Noya, a very capricious stream which you ford a dozen times. It frequently lays waste the country; but, upon the whole, it tends more than any thing else to enliven it. It drives a great number of mills, especially of those which supply great part of Spain and America with paper. This is a branch of industry which, within these few years, has increased in an astonishing manner. In 1777, Catalonia contained only one hundred and twelve paper-mills. In 1788, their number exceeded three hundred. The clear profit which they annually produce is estimated at upwards of a million of piasters.

Pursuing the route from Barcelona to Lerida, you pass through the towns of Igualada and Cervera. The country between these places is not so beautiful or so well cultivated. Cervera,

situated on an eminence, which commands an extensive view, belongs to the diocese of Solsona, a portion of which is mountainous, though the greater part is fertile in all sorts of grain and pulse.

Cervera, a town with five thousand inhabitants, has a well frequented university, founded by Philip V. at the time when he suppressed all the others in Catalonia; for nothing escaped the resentment of the conqueror, exasperated by a long resistance. But Catalonia, the theatre of suppressions and reforms of every kind, has disappointed the intentions of revenge. Though stripped of its privileges, and subject to a particular kind of imposts, it is still the least oppressed, and the most industrious province of Spain; and the faithful Castilians have more reasons than one for envying rebels. The natives of these provinces form even to the present day two distinct nations, who rival, and even hate each other, but who, in the last war with France, cordially co-operated, because the court and the priests persuaded them that they were both fighting for one common cause.

The diocese of Solsona feels the effect of its distance from the capital and the coast; and greater exertions are there required in order to encourage industry. The bishop has endeavoured, with considerable success, to enliven his residence. Jewellery, cottons, and laces, afford em-

ployment to a great part of the inhabitants. The utmost attention is bestowed on agriculture in its environs. Fallows are unknown there. The vine is not cultivated to the prejudice of corn; but those productions are blended without detriment to either.

Cardona, a small town in the same diocese, has in its territory, which art has rendered extremely fertile, a mine known to all naturalists, and which is perhaps the only one of its kind in Europe. *

Lerida is situated at the western extremity of Catalonia. Grain, hemp, vines, fruits, and vegetables of all sorts, abound in the plain by which it is encompassed. Several canals for the purpose of irrigation, which bear witness to the active industry of the inhabitants of Lerida, have augmented the fertility of this plain, celebrated of old in the verses of Claudian.

You enter the city by a fine bridge over the Segre, which washes it on the east. It is situated at the foot of a hill, crowned with the ruins of a castle, formerly a place of great strength.

The banks of the Segre, the environs of Lerida, cannot be surveyed without lively interest by men conversant in the military art, and, by the more numerous class who love to tread the same

* An elegant description of the mine of Cardona is given by Valmont de Bomare in his *Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* tom. XIII. p. 167—169, fourth edition.

ground that was once honoured with the presence of heroes. I am not alluding so much to the sieges and battles of which this country was the theatre at the commencement of the last century, as to the ever-memorable campaign, in which Julius Cæsar displayed, in a higher degree perhaps than in any other, the talents of a great general against the lieutenants of Pompey; a campaign which furnished Guischard with the subject of one of his most learned and interesting commentaries. It is with the work of that writer in his hand, that the traveller ought to follow the course of the Segre from Balaguer to Mequinenza, if he would find in a memoir on tactics all the instruction that can be derived from a history, and all the entertainment from a romance.

The current of this river whose inequalities and inundations, eighteen centuries ago, threw in Cæsar's way impediments which nothing but genius and perseverance enabled him to surmount, is still what it was then, at all times a benefit, but often a calamity to the country which it traverses. The city of Lerida is particularly exposed to its ravages. To secure it from them, the late governor, general Drouhout, a native of Flanders, constructed a mole that contributes to its embellishment, and that may be added to the long list of useful works for which Spain is indebted to foreigners.

Before it reaches Lerida, the Segre, which rises at the foot of the Pyrenees, traverses the plain of Urgel, the most fertile in grain of any in Catalonia. Unfortunately the greatest part of this province is still destitute of the means of easy communication. Its roads are so narrow, and so bad, that its rich and numerous productions cannot be conveyed from place to place in any other way than on the backs of mules. An exception, however, will soon be made by the eleven Castilian leagues between Lerida and Tarragon. At the beginning of 1806, the inhabitants of the latter obtained permission to construct a road, which, passing through Valls and Montblanch, should terminate at Lerida, and thus form a more direct communication with Arragon

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey from Barcelona to the Pyrenees.

RETURNING from my excursion to Lerida, I shall now conduct the reader from Barcelona to the Pyrenees.

Along the whole coast beginning with that capital, the manufactures and population are extremely flourishing. The first proof of this is seen at Badalona, which is only a league from Barcelona. Four leagues further, you come to the handsome town of Mataro, remarkable for its cleanliness and activity. It contains no more than nine thousand inhabitants ; but its manufactures of cottons, silks, and in particular of lace, the high cultivation of its district, and its commerce, of which wine is the principal article, render it one of the most important places on this coast.

The road from Barcelona to Mataro is very pleasant to the eye, but disagreeable in other respects. On leaving Barcelona, you first come to the river of Besos, the passage of which is dangerous and often impracticable. Further on the road is still worse in the rainy season, except in certain parts where the soil is more compact.

A new road which follows the windings of the coast, which sometimes runs along the steep brows of the hills, and, in some places, is hewn out of the rock, passes through handsome towns, which, from the structure of their simply decorated houses from their cleanliness, and above all, their active industry, but unaccompanied with bustle, remind the traveller of the most agreeable parts of Holland. Forget the foggy atmosphere of that province, give it the deliciously temperate climate of warmer regions cooled by the sea breezes ; substitute the agitation and the boundless bosom of the deep, for the dull, silent current of the narrow and muddy canals of Batavia ; retain all the attractions imparted by industry to that country, and you will have a pretty correct idea of the tract extending from Barcelona to Malgrat.

Some of these towns, which form a striking contrast with the rest of Spain, deserve to be mentioned. Having passed Mataro, you come to Arenas de Mar, where the diocese of Girona commences, and which has a small dock-yard, and a seminary for pilots ; Canet de Mar, a town in an agreeable situation, the inhabitants of which not only trade with all Spain, but even to the West Indies, and are successfully engaged in the manufacture of lace ; San Pol, a modern town, which is rapidly increasing under the fostering influence of industry ; Calella, one of the

handsomest places on the coast, which also has manufactures of cottons, silks, and lace ; Pineda, another town where travellers generally dine ; lastly Malgrat, after passing which, you quit this charming scenery and the banks of the Mediterranean, and enter a very wild country. You then descend again into a beautiful dale, in the center of which is the lonely inn called La Grenota. There is yet no beaten road in the forest which you traverse previous to your arrival at this inn, and upon leaving it, and in which you wander for some leagues nearly at random ; but as soon as you have quitted the forest, you again come to an excellent road.

Beyond La Grenota, you enter a mountainous country, consisting of woods and moors. You then discover the city of Girona, seated on the side of hills, which to the eastward are defended by some redoubts, and sink on the west into an extremely picturesque amphitheatre. This chain of hills forms a semicircular inclosure round Girona. At the distance of a league from that city, you would suppose it to be seated on an eminence, but you pass through and leave it without any perceptible ascent. Its cathedral, one of the finest monuments of Gothic architecture, is the only one of its buildings that stands upon a height.

Girona is divided into two unequal parts by the Tr, over which there is a bridge, but, which

may be forded at almost every season of the year. This city, famous in the modern Spanish wars, exhibited in the month of March, 1793, no kind of military preparation, which confirmed me in the opinion I have ever since entertained, that the Spanish administration had not, as was at that time asserted, finally decided upon a rupture with the French republic. The garrison of Girona, composed of regular troops, was very small, and in some places scarcely any trace of the fortifications was discernible. The ditches and its covered way, given up to the peaceful pursuits of horticulture, attested the security of the inhabitants, and in particular of the governor, Don Ladislas Habor, a blunt, active old man, who, when I delivered my passport, the forerunner of a rupture, seemed far from thinking such an event near at hand. I had no reason to suspect that this was an awkward artifice on his part; because throughout a journey of more than one hundred and thirty leagues, I had not perceived any more than at Girona, the symptoms of that bustle which immediately precedes the breaking out of war. For near a year, it is true, the court of Spain had been sending troops and stores towards its frontiers, especially to Navarre and Biscay; but had this measure not been adopted, as it affirmed till the end of December, 1792, merely to protect its dominions from an invasion, which, from our military move-

ments, and the speeches delivered in the convention, and in the popular societies, it had every reason to apprehend; had it on the contrary been the result of a plan for invading the territory of the republic, would it not have assembled a considerable force in Catalonia, at a time when, as I know from ocular demonstration, there were not more than five thousand men in the whole department of the eastern Pyrenees.

The diocese to which Girona gives its name is one of the best cultivated and most flourishing districts in all Spain. The part contiguous to the sea produces wine, lemons, oranges, and grain of every kind in great abundance. The mountainous portion is covered with vineyards, corn-fields, and olive plantations. The woods contain great numbers of cork-trees, the bark of which forms a very considerable article of commerce. There are few tracts in this diocese but what are remarkable for the abundance of their productions and the activity of their inhabitants. The Lampourdan, which forms the northern part of it, which our troops occupied for a year, and where I resided two months to negotiate the peace which was afterwards signed at Basle, is an extensive plain, extremely fertile in all kinds of grain and fruits.

A small town in the same diocese, Olot, a place scarcely known by name, and situated near the source of the Fluvia, deserves to be rescued

from obscurity, on account of the astonishing industry which there prevails. All its inhabitants are busily employed. There is scarcely any kind of manufacture in which they are not engaged. You here find a hundred stocking frames, manufactures of woollen cloths, ribbons, paper, soap, and cards, dye-houses, &c.

Half a league beyond Girona, there is another town remarkable for its activity. Two leagues further, after you have traversed a pleasant country and crossed a rivulet near a mill and a small hamlet, you arrive at La Madrina, the dirtiest and the dearest inn on the whole journey, but which with the hill that overlooks it, forms a very pleasing view. The whole road from Girona to Figueras is now remarkably good, except where it crosses a high hill, of which only the descent next to France is yet finished. As you approach Figueras, it is constructed with a care bordering on magnificence, and conducts over several bridges of granite. From Figueras to the frontiers you find it invariably excellent, chiefly in the interval which separates Junquière from the Boulon, and crosses the summit of the Pyrenees. The works of art which are here met with, will sustain a comparison with the most perfect of their kind.

But let us turn back for the purpose of giving some political and military details respecting the country through which this road runs.

From La Madrina to Figueras, the country has a sufficient proportion of trees, and except a few copses, it is very well cultivated. You there meet with fields of corn, pulse, flax, but especially plantations of olives, and of vines. You cross several small rivers, where, during the greatest part of the year, a small stream runs in the middle of a vast bed of gravel; in which respect, almost all the rivers proceeding from the foot of the Pyrenees towards the Mediterranean, both in this part of Catalonia and in Roussillon, resemble each other. Of this description is, in particular, the Fluvia, which we ford two long leagues before we reach Figueras. Its banks were then as tranquil as in the midst of profound peace. Nothing indicated that the shores of this little river, which after the taking of Figueras and Rosas, our troops in their ardour were impatient to pass, but which the prudent measures of our generals, prevented them from crossing, would be the principal theatre of the military operations of two armies. I saw them again two years afterwards with more interest, when I was sent to Figueras, which, after our success in the Campourdan, was the head-quarters of our army in the eastern Pyrenees.

When I passed through this place in 1793, General Ricardos who had just been appointed governor-general of Catalonia, was hourly expected. Figueras, which is an open town, and

which must not be confounded with its citadel, was then garrisoned only by seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, and there were no more than five thousand infantry in its environs. Such was the force which, in March, 1793, Spain had to employ in the imaginary invasion of Roussillon.

The fortifications of the citadel, situated at the distance of scarcely a quarter of a league from the town, on an eminence, were not yet finished. It already contained a great quantity of artillery and stores of all kinds, which, eighteen months afterwards, were destined to fall a prey to the French.

At the commencement of the war, the Spaniards, by a concurrence of causes, from the number of which I shall not be so unjust as to erase their valour, had advanced into our territory. They had penetrated to the west of Bellegarde, by the Col des Orts, to St. Laurent de Cerda, a town situated among the defiles of the Pyrenees, inhabited by smugglers, and people not the best disposed towards the French republic; and had thence overrun the districts of Prades and Ceret, compelled the castle of Bellegarde to capitulate, threatened Perpignan, and then suddenly turning off towards the sea, had taken possession of Elne, Collionre, and the port of Vendres.

These triumphs were not of long duration.

MODERN STATE

The honour of the French arms was soon avenged, first by General Dugommier, who drove the Spaniards out of Roussillon, retook Bellegarde, and penetrated into the Lampourdan. General Ricardos, to whose activity the momentary successes of his countrymen are in part to be ascribed, died during these transactions, and was succeeded by the Count de la Union, a young officer, whose valour could not supply the want of experience. The French army surmounted all the obstacles which he endeavoured to oppose to its progress. Eighty-three redoubts situated on either side of the road, through the tract of four leagues, which separates Figueras from Junquera, the last town of Catalonia on the frontiers of France, a kind of fortresses erected in haste, but some of which appeared to be impregnable—eighty-three redoubts, I say, were carried with a rapidity and a valour, which have not, perhaps, been sufficiently commended. A decisive engagement, in which the Count de la Union was killed, put the Spanish army to the rout; and its remains, taking refuge in the impregnable citadel, spread terror and dismay through the place. General Perignon, who then commanded the victorious army, advancing within half a league, peremptorily summoned the governor to surrender; and the capitulation was signed two hours afterwards, before either a breach, or assault, or trench, had been made, or any of the

works of the place had sustained the slightest injury. When I passed by it in 1793, I endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain admission along with three hundred workmen who went thither every morning to complete the building of the fortress. They alone were allowed to pass the gate which led to the interior of it. I was obliged to content myself with walking round the glacis, and in the covered way of its outer works. Two years afterwards, circumstances were rather more favourable to my curiosity, and I inspected at my ease, the fortifications of a place of which I had long heard the Spaniards speak with enthusiasm.

The fortress of Figueras was begun during the reign of Ferdinand VI. It was intended to be a master-piece of the art of fortification, and was at least made a *chef d'œuvre* of luxury in that line. All the military men who saw it, agreed that no place in Europe was furnished in greater profusion with all the means of defence. Of this, the besiegers in particular had an opportunity of convincing themselves; for, upon entering it, they found them absolutely untouched. Though their valour was sufficient to account for any thing, they could scarcely conceive themselves by what means they had been enabled to reduce in so short a time, a place garrisoned by at least nine thousand men; all the walls of which, both of the interior, and of the outer works, were of free-stone, and more than a fathom

thick; all the principal ditches of which were deep, and upwards of one hundred paces broad; whose approaches, on the only side where trenches could be opened, were undermined; whose chief cordon could not be seen from any of the points of the exterior; whose ramparts, barracks, hospitals, stables, cellars, magazines, in a word every thing was casemated.

The means of subsistence were proportionate to these means of defence. Water is preserved in four capacious cisterns at the four corners of the place of arms, which are supplied by an aqueduct. Provisions of all kinds, barrels of flour, biscuit, cheese, salt-fish, oil, wine, brandy, &c. had been collected in extreme profusion. Some idea of their abundance may be formed from the following circumstance.—The long and spacious passages of the casemates of Figueras were hung with such a quantity of bacon, that, according to a calculation made in my presence, its total value could not have been less than 800,000 livres.

On examining this place both within and without, the most ignorant person could not forbear enquiring with astonishment how it could have been so easily taken. Some ascribed its speedy surrender to the panic with which the garrison was struck by a peremptory summons that so soon succeeded a decisive engagement. Others asserted, that the garrison, though so

abundantly supplied with bacon, cheese, and spirits, was in want of cartridges and flints. Others again were unable to account for this extraordinary success, except by corruption, who even affirmed that two hogsheds full of money had been seen carried into the governor's house as the reward of his treachery ; and it would not be surprising, if a regard for the national dignity induced the Spaniards to believe this story, which was the most absurd of all ; as if, at the period of our greatest pecuniary distress, we had money to spend only on the taking of Figueras, while we had none to spare for Luxembourg, Maestricht, Ehrenbreitstein, and Mentz, all places of infinitely more importance than this reputed bulwark of Catalonia, the surrender of which did not lead to the reduction of that province ; or, as if the governors of the Spanish fortresses alone were not incorruptible. The most probable way of accounting for this circumstance, and, indeed, that which is most clearly demonstrated by the evidence of facts is, that those who ought to have directed the different operations of the siege, were taken unawares, were deficient in foresight, and at variance with each other ; and that the garrison under their command *on that day* wanted courage. The ancient French proverb—*He was brave one day*, was borrowed from the Spaniards. They will not take it amiss, if, for once, we apply it to themselves. What nation

can boast of having never been in this predicament!

The French army having obtained possession, by some means or other, of the fortress of Figueras, was distributed in the circumjacent places from Junquiera to the banks of the Fluvia.

But before it could gain peaceable possession of the Lampourdan, and secure supplies from the sea, it was obliged to make itself master of the port and fortified town of Rosas, and the fort of Trinidad, denominated by the French *le Bouton*.

This conquest, which was more difficult, and required more time than that of Figueras, was recently achieved when I went to visit this theatre of one of the most brilliant exploits of the army of the eastern Pyrenees. Rosas is four long leagues to the west of Figueras. The road to it passes through Villa Beltran and Peralada, and traverses a fine country, which is almost entirely plain. *Le Bouton* is discerned at the distance of near three leagues. Situated on the declivity of the Pyrenees, where they gradually sink to the sea, it has the appearance, at that distance, of an ancient castle in ruins. As you approach, you perceive, on a perfectly level situation, the fort of Rosas, the fortifications of which consist of a double wall, without ditch, covered way, or glacis. It would have made but very short resistance, had it not been for the aid of a Spanish squadron, commanded by the brave admiral

Gravina, which lay at anchor in the spacious bay, on the shore of which are situated the fort, the village, and le Bouton, all three in a semicircular line, corresponding with the figure of the coast. You pass under the interior cordon of the fort to reach the village, composed of one long street of white-washed houses. Beyond the village you have to climb over rocks to le Bouton. This little fort is designed for the double purpose of defending the entrance of the bay, and protecting the village of Rosas, which is a long quarter of a league distant in a direct line. On its top it has lights for the direction of mariners. Though the space comprehended in its works is extremely circumscribed, it possessed in its three platforms one above another, means of defence which, for some time, withstood the intrepidity of the French. In none of the various theatres of this war, so productive of events that border on the marvellous, did the valour of our troops make more astonishing exertions than round this fort of le Bouton. The cannon destined to batter it were hauled by the men up the acclivity to the summits of the steep rocks with which the approaches to it are encumbered. Where the boldest huntsmen would scarcely have ventured to pursue their game, repairing to these retreats almost inaccessible to man, there the French artillery was planted, and dealt destruction; and if the traces of its passage impressed in the rock shall remain

visible to posterity, it will have occasion for the evidence of history, in order to ascribe them to their real cause.

The fort of Bouton was not taken till a wide breach had been made. Still it did not capitulate. The garrison had time to make their escape, descending by means of rope-ladders to the beach, where the boats of the squadron were waiting to take them off; and the besiegers, on entering, found nothing but dead bodies in the place. It was not till after the taking of this fort that the French army could obtain possession of that of Rosas.

This port is never much frequented. It is however formed by an immense bay, where even ships of the line may come to an anchor; but this bay is by far too capacious, and its entrance too wide, to afford security from the winds, and from external attacks.

The adjacent country, on the side next to the Pyrenees, is highly picturesque, and seemed to me to be worth the trouble of a short excursion. Soon after leaving the fort, I passed the enormous ridge which separates the bay of Rosas from that which faces it to the north, and to which you cannot go by sea, without making a long circuit and doubling Cape Creus. Having proceeded two leagues along a most toilsome road, you come to *Selva alta*, a town in a hollow embosomed among rocks. Half a league further you reach

Selva bava, a town of considerable size in an amphitheatrical situation on the shore of the bay of *la Selva*, or *la Selve*. These places were two of those in which our troops were in cantonments. The second has a small port which is not without trade. Its environs produce a luscious wine, equally agreeable in flavor and colour, and which may be placed among dessert wines, between Frontignac and sherry. The productions of the earth are, like mortals, the sport of chance. Before our war with Spain, this excellent wine of *la Selve*, which more than once dispelled lassitude at the head-quarters, was scarcely known beyond the Lampourdan; but I hope that the connoisseurs who were in our army of the eastern Pyrenees, will rescue it from the obscurity to which it seemed to be doomed.

The whole country, though of a wild appearance, exhibited, notwithstanding the presence of our troops, traces of as attentive a cultivation as the nature of the ground would admit.

To return from *la Selve* to Figueras, you first proceed along the steep shore of the bay. You then descend into the charming dale, in which is situated the town of Llausa, at some distance from a small creek of the same name. As you traverse this dale, you cannot help admiring the vine-covered hills with which it is surrounded. Ascending afterwards to an ancient castle, you perceive the town of Perelada; and at the extremity

of the horizon, you discern the road that winds from the town to the fort of Figueras.

The aspect of this beautiful country called the Lampourdan, the wildest but most picturesque portion of which I had traversed, excites in the philanthropic mind that regret which it cannot help feeling when it reflects that fertile countries, Flanders, the Palatinate, Lombardy, have ever been the theatre of the ravages of war. Nothing but that love of glory and dominion which reigned in the soul of Catharine II. could induce a sovereign to kindle its flames in the deserts, upon the rocks, and amidst the frozen lakes of Finland. Let us, however, do the army of the eastern Pyrenees the justice to say, that the inhabitants of the Lampourdan had not much reason to complain of the conduct of the troops during their long stay in that district. They did no mischief but what was inseparable from military operations. In the midst of their cantonments, the fields were in full cultivation. In the vicinity of Rosas, the vines were shooting up again about the large holes which attested the recent fall of bombs; and on the hills adjacent to Figueras, if we except those nearest to the high road which served for glacis, the extensive plantations of olive-trees sustained scarcely any injury. Our soldiers encamped in their shade, devoted only the barren trunks to the supply of their wants. Philosophy becomes a little reconciled with that terrible art, an art es-

essentially destructive, when discipline banishes from it at least all useless excesses.

Truth, however, compels us to acknowledge, that in the paroxysms of rage occasioned by resistance to troops accustomed to conquer, in the intoxication of victory, some of those things were done in Catalonia as well as Biscay, at which humanity shudders, and others which policy ought to have prevented. At Euguy, at Orbaiceta on the frontiers of French Navarre, at San Lorenzo de la Muga, a few leagues to the north-west of Figueras, Spain had founderies of great importance to her arsenals. Our armies treated them as though they had been at Portsmouth or Plymouth. They left not one stone upon another.

In no part of the Peninsula were religion and its ministers exposed to persecution. The pastors and most of their flocks fled, it is true, on our approach. As in all wars in which religion has been brought in question, and in those in which necessity silences scruples, so in this many a church was transformed into a stable. But all these sacred edifices survived our invasion; the objects of the veneration of the faithful were neither destroyed nor mutilated; and while the town of Figueras was the head-quarters of our army, I have seen crosses left standing in some of the principal streets, even in the absence of those by whom they were adored.

This indulgence, however, was not sufficient to

render the Catalonians well-disposed to our cause. They have proved themselves much more susceptible of being roused by fanaticism than by the love of freedom. We had too confidently relied on the effect of that sentiment which, among them, is principally compounded of a decided aversion to the Castilian yoke, and the vague tendency toward an independent government. Had it not been for the vigilance of the court, we should certainly have been able to form a party at Barcelona. It is in large cities, and particularly in capitals, that dissatisfaction is fomented, and the discontented are enlisted in the same cause with the greatest facility. There the numbers collected together, and the more inflammable disposition of the public mind, are peculiarly favorable to the propagation of extraordinary ideas. There, as in a heap of combustible matters, a single spark is sufficient to produce a conflagration. But the court had foreseen the danger while at a distance, and the priests, more attentive to their own interests than to those of the government, easily succeeded in frustrating the artifices of the missionaries of the French revolution.

At the same time, a series of triumphs had led us westward to the gates of Bilbao, and southward as far as the shores of the Ebro. After the passage of this river, the rocks of Pancorvo were only obstacle which nature, assisted a little by would have opposed to the progress of our

victorious armies through the two Castiles. Already the nearest of those provinces was filled with the utmost alarm, and exhibited all the confusion of a sudden and tumultuous emigration. But our generals,* in those two opposite quarters, were not merely brave ; they possessed prudence, a quality even superior to valor. They were sensible, and so was our government, that we should gain nothing by laying waste the Spanish provinces on the one hand, or on the other by enfeebling and entailing the horrors of a civil war upon a power with which, after less than a year's hostilities, we felt the necessity of a reconciliation. Victories still more splendid could not have accelerated an accommodation more than the arrogance of the English. Thus our real enemies promoted our cause as much as the success of our arms could possibly have done.

The Catalonians and the Castilians, united by their attachment to a religion whose interests were represented to them as involved in the revolution against which Europe had taken up arms, united also by their affection for an excellent monarch, who never gave them the slightest cause of complaint, forgot their animosities in order to make a common cause against the common enemy. But soon afterwards, as they had combined their

* Generals Moncey and Perignon, both of whom are at present marshals of the French empire.

efforts for war, they joined in the wish for peace, as well as in their resentment against the real enemy who had instilled into their bosoms his own antipathy ; and we have had reason to congratulate ourselves that we did not punish them, by the great and permanent injury which we might have done them for the transient error of their government. What would now be our regret, if, when the day of reconciliation had arrived, we had left Spain exposed to the horrors of civil war, to the fear of insurrections, and the necessity of inflicting vengeance ; if we had thereby almost precluded the possibility of a sincere accommodation ; if this power, obliged to divide its attention and its efforts between the reduction of rebellious subjects and the assistance of allies, had for a considerable time had no efficient aid to give, nothing but reproaches to make us ?

But it is time to quit Catalonia, and to bring the reader to the conclusion of this long journey.

From Figueras you have a very distinct view of the Pyrenees, or to express myself more correctly, you are at the foot of those mountains. You are surrounded by one of the branches of that immense chain ; for the hills, several of which overlook, but at a considerable distance, the eminence on which Figueras is situated, that make a long circuit round this fortress, and then sink into the sea at Cape de Palamos, are nothing but a ramification of the Pyrenees. The Lampour-

dan, encompassed by this range, is watered, especially from north-east to south-west, by a great number of small rivers and streams. Such are the Lobregat which descends from the Pyrenees, and passes very near Junquiera; the Muga, on whose bank stood the foundery destroyed by our troops; the Manol, along which lay our chief cantonments, as Sistella, the extremity of our principal line, Avionet, Villafan, and Castillon; the Alga, on whose banks there were likewise some; the Fluvia, the boundary of our conquests, a river which you cross by the bridges of Besalu and Bascara, though it is fordable in almost every season, and which, after approaching near to the sea at the village of San Pere Pescador, makes a circuit, and discharges itself two short leagues further to the south, into the extremity of the bay of Rosas; lastly, the Ter, which falls into the sea eight or ten leagues below Girona, opposite to the small islands of Medes.

These rivers and streams, which may be forded almost the whole year, are swoln in spring by the melting of the snow, and the rain with which it is accompanied. In the month of April 1795, I witnessed one of these periodical inundations. After three days' rain, all the little rivers between the Fluvia and Figueras, including the Fluvia itself, swelled to such a degree, that all the fords became impassable, and the communication between the head-quarters and some of our canton-

ments was rendered almost impracticable for persons on foot. Circumstances of this kind are common in a great part of Spain, and especially in Catalonia; and during the celebrated campaign to which we have alluded above, one of these sudden inundations of the Segre, the Cinca, and other rivers running in the same direction, threw such obstacles in the way of Cæsar's operations, as nothing but the greatest exertions enabled him to surmount.

The road from Figueras to Junquiera is, in general, excellent, and runs through a fertile and well cultivated country. At first you proceed along the chain of pleasant hills which surrounds Figueras. As soon as you have passed the little village of Pont des Molinos, you come in sight of the long range of eminences on which the Spaniards had erected those redoubts that would have long checked the progress of an army less brave than ours. Some of them are on the opposite bank of the Lobregat, which proceeds from the foot of the mountains of Bellegarde, and which you twice cross over handsome bridges. Soon after you have passed all these redoubts, and ascended a hill, you have before you the mountains on one of which stands Bellegarde; and at the foot of them you perceive the modest town of Junquiera, which might apparently be annihilated in a moment by the fire of this formidable fortress.

Junquiera, situated at the entrance of a valley, which gradually grows wider towards Catalonia,

has no other resource than agriculture and the cork-trees which cover the neighbouring mountains. This town is open on all sides, and nearly defenceless. In 1793, I found there a detachment of no more than two hundred men. Accordingly the inhabitants, while they professed the warmest attachment to their sovereign, complained bitterly of the neglected state in which they were left in so dangerous a neighbourhood as that of Bellegarde.

This fortress, however, appears much less formidable from this point than from many other parts of the road which winds among the rocks on the other side of the Pyrenees. Ten times in traversing this long and toilsome labyrinth you lose, and again come in sight of this proud monarch of the circumjacent vallies.

It is a long half league from Junquièra to the spot where the traveller is exactly under Bellegarde; and in this interval there is scarcely any ascent. You first come to a small detached house, near which stood, in 1793, two little columns forming the boundary between France and Spain. One of them bore the arms of his catholic majesty, and the other the name of the French republic, with its arms recently carved. In 1795, I found these boundaries overthrown by the hands of victory. The columns were broken in pieces, and the road was strewed with their fragments. You would have supposed that Catalo-

Ionia was irrevocably incorporated with the French republic.

A little further is a small village called le Perthus, where one of the roads leading to Bellegarde begins. Here in time of peace is fixed the office where the passports of travellers are examined; and here, in March 1793, I found companies of our brave volunteers who often came down from the fortress to enquire the news, and in particular whether the signal for the war with Spain would soon be given. My arrival on the territory of France seemed to calm their impatience. Perthus gives name to the defile through which you proceed from Junquièra to Boulou by a winding road which you are ready to think you shall never come to the end of.

The road as far as Perthus cannot be in better condition, but from the place where our territory commences it had, in 1793, been greatly neglected. In 1795 I found it in tolerable repair.* From Junquièra to Boulou it winds from one side to the other of the lofty Pyrenees, and exhibits views truly picturesque. In this country, through which the traveller cannot pass without mingled emotions of pleasure and of awe, nature is alter-

* At present the road from Junquièra to Boulou may, upon the whole, be reckoned one of the finest in Europe. The passage of the Pyrenees, in particular, is remarkable for numerous works which are not inferior in magnificence and boldness to any thing of the kind in Europe.

nately lovely, majestic, and terrible. As in most mountainous countries, she here displays great variety of situation, and seems to have taken delight in approximating the most contrary climates. Sometimes you have the plains of Catalonia or Roussillon beneath the serenest sky, and you soon afterwards find yourself in the region of storms. This change I experienced myself in March 1795, in one of my journies from Perpignan to Figueras. When I quitted Roussillon, the mildest temperature prevailed in that province. On the summit of the Pyrenees I was overtaken by a violent storm. I travelled for some time by the lurid coruscations of lightning. On my arrival in the plains of Lampourdan, I found the earth covered with snow which had fallen while I was crossing the mountains. How little is man with his grand tactical manœuvres, and his great political plans, in comparison of these sublime phenomena of nature! How mean the most formidable armies appear beside these antique barriers! How they dwindle away in the bosom of the deep vallies! What is the report of artillery to the thunders of heaven, the peals of which are a hundred times reverberated in their tortuous defiles! Generations of heroes pass away and disappear, but the enormous mass of the Canigou, covered with everlasting snows, remains, like the universe, immovable and eternal.

From Perthuis it is a long league to Boulou, seated in the midst of a valley, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, many of which are covered with snow even in the middle of spring. From this prodigious mass of mountains, to the left of the traveller, towers Canigou, one of the loftiest peaks of the Pyrenees, whose summit is lost in the clouds. You proceed, but the distance seems not to diminish its magnitude, and when you have reached Perpignan, you still imagine yourself at its foot.

Before you ascend to the village of Boulou, which is the first stage in France, you come to the Tech, a small river which rises in the Pyrenees, waters Pratz de Mollo and the Fort des Bains, runs very near the small town of Ceret, and falls into the sea a little below Collioure. In 1793, travellers were obliged to ford it with considerable inconvenience. To see men with no other clothing than their shirts wading in the water up to their middle, and pushing the carriages along by main force to the opposite shore, could not but excite unpleasant sensations. The war which ravaged the banks of this river, at least occasioned the erection of a small wooden bridge, which after having for two years facilitated the passage of armies, and all that follows in their train, now promotes communications of a more peaceable kind.

At Boulou, which is only a musket shot from

the Tech, I shall conclude my narrative ; but before I bid adieu to the reader, I shall take a last look at the country which I have endeavoured to describe, and present him with the recapitulation of my observations and of my wishes respecting it.

RECAPITULATION.*

I THINK I have demonstrated, that Spain and its inhabitants are far from deserving that c

* This Recapitulation has been left nearly in the state in which it appeared in the second edition, though some changes have since that time taken place in Spain. It exhibits that kingdom as it was, or as it appeared to the author in 1797. It will afford at least, a medium of comparison between the state of the country at that period and at present. The additions and alterations required by the text composed nine years ago, are subjoined in the form of notes.

The author would be extremely sorry if the intentions which suggested this Retrospect were to be mistaken. In the slight shades which he has introduced into his picture of Spain, he wishes to evince himself the sincere friend deploring fatalities, rather than the morose critic, who takes delight in finding fault. He can affirm, that his censures are much less severe than those which he has a hundred times heard from the lips of Spaniards, whose good sense was equal to their attachment to their country. Besides, where is the country, but what, on a close examination, affords subjects for censure? Where is the nation but what has its imperfections? Where are the governments that deserve nothing but praise? The writer who sets himself up for the judge of a nation or a government, might certainly be asked: "Who commissioned you, who obliged you, who gave you the right to assume the character of a judge and dictator?" I shall not reply, that he received the commission from his zeal, and that the purity of his motives ought to

tempt with which they have been treated by ignorance. What do they want on the contrary, in order to excite envy? Has not Spain within her bosom, all the elements of prosperity? What a delicious climate! What multifarious productions, which industry, if more enlightened and more skilfully directed, might easily bring to perfection—wines, fruits, wool, silk, oil, horses, &c. What treasures of every kind are yet unexplored in the bowels of the earth! Of what might not her inhabitants be rendered capable, were the government to second the bounty of nature.

But it would appear, that in spite of the purest intentions, a fatal instinct has long diverted it from

procure him the indulgence even of those whom he accuses. Such common-place excuses, if they were admitted, might serve as a passport to absurdities and invectives, as well as to truth and commendations. The following reply would perhaps be more to the purpose:—"If you will not permit the person who has devoted the greater part of his life to the contemplation of any particular subject, to submit to the public the results of his observations, however mature they may be, in which impartiality alternately bestows praise or censure, celebrates virtues and heroic deeds, lashes abuses, and deploras errors; be consistent, at least, and proscribe all moral, philosophical, and above all, historical works, for they all contain nothing else. But you must in this case, make up your minds to consign alike to oblivion, both the heroes who have reflected lustre on your country, and the bad ministers who have been its scourge; and to deprive future generations of the lessons inculcated by the past."

the track which it ought to have pursued. Too often, in Spain, have habit and obstinacy perpetuated measures, the disadvantages of which are admitted by all enlightened men; or if genius proposes new processes, if courage plans their execution, envy and prejudice are leagued to oppose them in their career. In no country, perhaps, have intrigue and calumny proved more successful in their attacks on merit and talent. Let us endeavour to enumerate the distinguished men, whom, in our own days, they have doomed to a mortifying disgrace, or reduced to mere cyphers.

Let us mention *Maritz* and *Gautier*,* engaged in improving, the one the artillery, and the other the system of ship-building, and escaping but by a miracle, from the malice of their persecutors.

Olavide,† snatched from his flourishing colony in order to be immured in the dungeons of the inquisition.

* They are both dead: one died about twenty years ago, and the other in 1800. The former has left sons who are in the Spanish service, and are worthy of the name which their father rendered illustrious.

† He returned to his native country in 1797, and retired to a small town of Andalusia, where he died three years ago. His recall was preceded and occasioned by the publication of a religious work, entitled, *El Evangelio en Triunfo*, which he composed during the last years of his residence in France, and which has had such a circulation both in Spain and America, that it has reached the sixth edition.

A *Marquis d'Aranda*,* whose great talents as a statesman, and particularly as a financier, have for thirty years been continually dreaded, but scarcely ever consulted.

A *Count de Campomanes*,† who towards the conclusion of his long career as a scholar and a magistrate, was suffered to retain only those honours of which he could not be deprived.

A *Count d'Aranda*,‡ atoning by two disgraces, for the energy of his character and the excellence of his plans.

A *Cabarrus*,|| whose talents and services were remunerated by an imprisonment of four years.

A *Thomas Muñoz*, who had great difficulty to obtain forgiveness for the success of the immortal work which he executed at Cadiz.

A *Mazarredo*,§ less known and less esteemed

* He died in 1801, at a very advanced age. He had obtained, towards the end of his useful life, the empty honour of Counsellor of State.

† He died in 1800, invested with the honours of governor of Castile.

‡ He died in exile at his estates in Arragon.

|| After having, as we have already observed, recovered some influence, he withdrew seven years ago into private life. He first retired to the vicinity of Torrelaguna, fourteen leagues from Madrid, where he devoted all his attention to agricultural pursuits. His indefatigable activity has since induced him to undertake several journeys on his private affairs.

§ Since the above was written, he has received marks of confidence and esteem from his court, and has justified them

in his own country, than among two neighbouring nations, by those who are capable of duly appreciating his transcendent merit.

An *Augustin Betancourt*, one of the most skilful mechanicians in Europe, by the confession of the scientific men of France and England, who, indeed, is neither slighted nor forgotten, but whom they do not think fit to employ in Spain, where all the machinery used in the arts and manufactures is still so imperfect, and are sending to construct roads and canals in the island of Cuba.*

A *Malaspina* and a *Father Gil*,† who were im-

By the activity which he has displayed in the naval department at Cadiz.

* His voyage to the island of Cuba was prevented by various circumstances. On his return to Madrid, his talents attracted the notice of government. He was entrusted with the establishment of the telegraphs, in which he was very busily engaged with M. Breguet, during his last visit to Paris. He has begun one line extending from Buen Retiro to Aranjuez, and which is to be continued to Cadiz. He is at present one of the directors of the post-office, and has the particular superintendence of the department of bridges and roads. In this capacity he has recently erected or repaired one hundred and forty-one bridges, on the two roads from Madrid to Barcelona the one leading through Valencia, the other through Saragossa, in order to facilitate the journey of the king and queen to Catalonia in September 1802. He has since been appointed director of the cabinet of machines established at Buen Retiro.

† They have long been restored to liberty. *Malaspina* retired to Parma, his native country.

prisoned at the moment when they are about to publish an account of a new Voyage round the World.

A *Francisco Saavedra*, who, after having evinced in the Spanish colonies, extraordinary talents for government, languishes almost in obscurity in one of those honorary posts reserved as rewards for the long services of mediocrity, or for men of abilities who are compelled to retire from public life.*

A *Ramon Pignatelli*,† a *Gaspard Jovellanos*,‡ men of the brightest talents, of the warmest patriotism, who were consigned to obscurity, the one in Arragon, the other in the Asturias, and who, on the narrow theatre in which circum-

* Don Francisco Saavedra was placed in 1798, at the head of the department of foreign affairs, but soon afterwards succeeded *ad interim*, by M. d'Urquijo, and definitively by the present minister, M. de Cevallos. On his recovery from the indisposition which occasioned him to be superseded, he was obliged to remain almost a year at the Escorial; he was afterwards permitted to retire to Puerto Real, near Cadiz, where he still resides.

† He died at Saragossa, engaged till his decease in the works of the canal of Arragon, and without having ever obtained any other reward than the testimonies of a cold esteem: but with these his proud and independent spirit was content.

‡ Of this gentleman we have frequently had occasion to speak in this new edition. Removed from the post of minister soon after he had been raised to it, he was first exiled to his native province, Asturias, and afterwards confined in a convent of Carmelites at Majorca.

stances placed them, reflect honour on their country by services, the only compensation for which is the esteem of their fellow-citizens.

Besides many other men of genius and science, and artists of every description, whose merits are known and appreciated, but who are suffered to languish unemployed and almost in indigence,* while there are places and pensions for the shallow and the intriguing. No money can be spared for useful undertakings while it is lavished to gratify a luxury which gives no additional lustre to the throne, but which may furnish discontented persons with very dangerous arguments.†

And yet, in spite of the fetters by which this nation is cramped, notwithstanding the injustice by which it is discouraged, and the prejudices

* It is necessary in this place to do justice to the Spanish government, and to acknowledge that of late years, it has in many instances conferred honours on merit even though it was known to it only through the medium of public report; that it has given employment to many distinguished subjects who deserved, and who have justified its confidence; and that if faults, perhaps slight, or not proved, have sometimes been punished by mortifying disgraces, no service, however has gone unrewarded. At this moment (1806) it honours men truly enlightened with its intimate friendship, and that in the face of all Europe.

† These observations have appeared rather unjust. It has been asserted that they were furnished me by persons who were either soured by disappointment, or ill informed. I therefore think it incumbent on me to disavow them, or at least to declare that they are not applicable to the first years of the present century.

by which it is calumniated, what has it not already done to rouse itself from the disgraceful lethargy into which it had sunk at the conclusion of the seventeenth century.

If we would learn to form a less unfavourable opinion of the Spaniards, let us compare the reign of Charles II. with that of Charles IV. ; let us consider what was the state of manufactures, commerce, the navy, the arts and sciences in general, at the former period, and what it is at present.

How much more striking would this difference be, if frequent and useless wars were not so often to interrupt the career of prosperity which they have been pursuing for near a century ; if the plans, whose stability alone can insure success, were not incessantly thwarted by temporary circumstances.

How deplorable it is to see a nation, apparently grave and given to reflection, more subservient than any other, even than our own, to the little passions of those who occupy the throne, or of those who surround it ! Chancellor Bacon calumniated the one, and too highly flattered the other, when he observed two centuries ago that the Spaniards appeared wiser than they were, and that the French were wiser than they appeared.

Of how many caprices have the former been the sport only since the extinction of the Aus-

trian dynasty ! What did they gain by two of the wars of Philip V. except the barren honour of seeing his posterity in possession of two petty sovereignties of Italy !

Ferdinand VI. of a more pacific disposition, patronized some splendid undertakings ; but more avaricious of money than of glory, he filled his coffers, and suffered several branches of the administration to fall to decay. As a Frenchman I might find fault with him for his attachment to the court of London. This, however, a Spaniard would do more than forgive, since it deferred the moment when Spain was obliged to bear a part in the disasters of the war of 1756.

Charles III. shewed himself more generous in appearance ; but it was in the quality of a monarch of the house of Bourbon, of a personal enemy of the English, that he espoused our cause. This attachment cost Spain part of her navy and Florida. To indemnify her for this loss, we gave her Louisiana. But what has the Spanish nation acquired by the change ? Colonists, whom its government first exasperated by the most odious tyranny, and whose affections it afterwards sought to gain by various sacrifices.

Seven years afterwards, a quarrel respecting a point of honour threatened it with a rupture with the court of St. James's.* Ruinous efforts to

In 1770, on the subject of the Falkland Islands.

procure reparation, and a fresh appropriation of the funds destined for useful undertakings, were the natural consequences.

Our intervention dispelled the storm; but eight years had scarcely elapsed when Spain suffered herself to be drawn, against her interest, into the American war. The conquest of Minorca, and the recovery of the Floridas, were the fruits of this war, unpolitic at least, if not unjust; but the completion of the canals of Castile and Arragon, which had been so long in hand, would most assuredly have contributed more to her prosperity, and been attended with less expence.

She had not enjoyed peace more than seven years before she was on the point of again involving herself in the horrors of war, and interrupting the progress of the most advantageous undertakings, for the sake of a few furs in the remotest corner of North America.* But projects still more insensate solicited and obtained the prefer-

* Spain was desirous of procuring the recognition of the exclusive right which she claimed to the whole north-east coast of North America, as far as it extended towards the pole. Consistently with these pretensions, she complained of the settlements which the English had formed at Nootka Sound, between the latitude of 49° and 50° . We were going to interfere in this quarrel, which had nearly led to a rupture at the beginning of 1790, when Spain thought fit to come to an accommodation with the English, by admitting their right to form establishments upon the American coast from Cape Mendocino, in the 40th degree, to Nootka Sound.

ence. A mania which at this period seized all the cabinets of Europe, caused the court of Madrid to direct all its attention towards the French revolution. Spain placed herself at the head of the powers leagued to counteract it. Her administration and her plans were suddenly changed. She seemed disposed to remain a passive spectator of our convulsions, and to confine herself to defensive measures, when an event affecting her more nearly than any other monarchy, caused her to join, against her interest, in the general resentment.

This deviation, which to the tribunal of sovereigns, must certainly appear extremely venial, was but of short continuance. The experience of twenty-eight months was sufficient. She concluded peace, after making exertions and sustaining disasters which rendered repose and economy equally necessary. It was imagined that she would now devote her whole attention to the payment of her debts, the improvement of her finances, the construction of her roads, canals, &c. No such thing: she determines, in preference to every other consideration, to punish the arrogance of her late allies. As a Frenchman, I cannot but applaud the resolution she has adopted, and hope that victory will crown her exertions.* But this war, be its issue what it may,

* This wish has not been entirely accomplished. During the war terminated by the peace of Amiens, the Spaniards with-

will be another check to the progress of her prosperity; and if it should prove unsuccessful, Spain has so many possessions to lose, so many advantages to regain, that peace is a duty incumbent on her more than any other power, as long as it is compatible with her security and her honour. And yet to gratify cabinet animosities, in compliance with the little passions of those by whom she is governed, has she been exposed eight times in less than a century to the vicissitudes of war !*

It is not in this way that a power formerly great, that a nation which once held the foremost rank, is to be regenerated and restored to its ancient elevation. Every century in a monarchical state produces at least two weak kings, some ambitious queens, like Isabella Farnese; some restless ministers, such as Alberoni and Florida

out doubt manifested courage and talents. They endured various blockades, and withstood many attacks with energy and perseverance. They proved their attachment to their old ally who had sometimes been their enemy. The state of inactivity to which they were almost invariably reduced, and the losses which they experienced, were the results of the most imperious circumstances. But does not this war, which ought to give them new claims to our esteem, authorise the reproaches dictated to the author by his affection for them? Will it not justify some of his predictions?

These observations will not apply to the war in which Spain is at present engaged. The previous provocation which she received will long be remembered.

Blanca. Every century witnesses more than one dispute as important as those respecting the Falkland Islands, and Nootka Sound. An empire whose destiny is committed to such hands, may make a considerable figure in the newspapers of the time, but it runs the risk of exciting only the regret of posterity. A state in its full vigour of maturity and health may defy such storms; it is sufficiently robust to weather them; but exertions of this kind are rather too violent perhaps for a convalescent.

This truth is exemplified in Spain. Her inhabitants are endowed with a warm and fertile imagination. They possess an aptitude for all the arts, and have infant establishments of almost every kind. The sources of wealth flow beneath transparent strata at their feet. Good sense is an universal quality even among the lowest classes, and for some time knowledge is as generally diffused even among the higher orders. But their great versatility, and the numerous plans formed by one passion, and overturned by another, account for the stationary situation of this country. These too oft repeated alternatives of useless war and of peace more brilliant than solid, those short moments of prudence, succeeded by long fits of extravagance, assimilate the work of her regeneration to the labours of Penelope.

In order then to carry into complete effect measures adopted within these fifty years for the

promotion of her prosperity, she should prosecute her plans with greater perseverance and activity, and have less inclination for ostentatious enterprises; she ought to pay attention to her establishments for education, rather than to her Philippine company, and endeavour to improve Old Castile in preference to the island of Trinidad.*

To this end, the present moment seems to be the most favourable of any that has for a long time occurred. A minister in the flower of his age, to whose will every thing is subservient, and who appears seriously intent on the welfare of his country; a monarch to whom the purity of his manners and a robust constitution promise length of years; abundance of excellent plans; of men of genius to conceive new ones; of hands which require only practice and encouragement to become skilful; a nation proud, it is true, but which, unless absolutely insulted, will be found docile and affectionate; a nation in which the government is so organised, the agents of both the temporal and spiritual power are so distributed, and whose population is scattered, in such a manner, that the discontented may with ease be watched and kept in awe, that there is not a rallying point to render them formidable;

* It has since been ceded to the English by the peace of Amiens.

and what is much more certain, that no great efforts of bounty would be required to appease them. How many circumstances here conspire to facilitate the execution of projects of national improvement, with all the confidence of uncontested authority, and all the deliberation of wisdom ; to dispose of every thing like the rightful owner, and not with the haste of one who is afraid of being ejected from his possessions ; to triumph over the obstacles which men and things throw in the way of the most useful undertakings ! .

But if Spain would derive advantage from circumstances so favourable, let her above all things renounce that growing ambition which causes rulers to mistake glory for prosperity ; which, adopting a modern maxim of the law of nations, imagines that nature has fixed the limits of states, as if any usurpation might not be justified on the same ground.

Let her own example teach her, that power depends not on extensive possessions, especially when a state has a spacious territory to begin with, capable of supplying all the means of improvement, a territory susceptible of such ameliorations in agriculture, and such an increase in its industry and population.

What advantage, for instance, would Spain derive from the conquest of Portugal, which is supposed, doubtless without sufficient ground,

to be one of the favourite projects of its new government. It cannot but be sensible that each of the two nations has its prejudices, which an incorporation would only tend to aggravate. Without any hope of being ever able to gain the affections of the conquered people, it would be obliged to watch its new subjects, and to overawe them by extraordinary means, which would divide its attention, increase its expences, and expose it to perpetual broils.

But, supposing this incorporation effected without a struggle ; in this case, in my opinion, Spain would incur dangers less imminent but not less formidable. Her European dominions would then be bounded by those pretended limits of nature, the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean. Irrevocably allied with France—as she seems sensible that her permanent interest requires she should be—she would have no invasion to fear by land ; and her distance from the maritime powers secures her from attacks by sea. She might then cultivate in security all the arts of peace. These are certainly sufficient to give happiness to individuals and prosperity to empires ; but the art of war, how destructive soever it may be, is likewise necessary. —It consolidates that strength, without which prosperity is but precarious. It is forgotten in the repose of uninterrupted peace. A nation becomes effeminate when it is surrounded only by allies,

when it enjoys a long exemption from alarm; and the empire, however flourishing it may be, falls an easy prey to a conqueror or a usurper: or if it is not exposed to dangers of this kind, it crumbles to pieces beneath the very weight of its prosperity.

Let those then, who would insure the permanent prosperity of Spain, not expect it from that extension of territory which can dazzle none but women and children. She wants allies we admit; but it is also necessary that she should have near and jealous rivals, to keep her upon the alert, and to prevent her neglecting those means of defence, and even of attack, which the passions of mankind will always render necessary. She requires long intervals of peace; but as long as the philanthropic reveries of the Abbé de St. Pierre are not realized, the possibility of war should not suffer her vigilance to be lulled to sleep, or that courage, which is one of the characteristic virtues of Spaniards, to run the risk of degenerating in the absence of danger.

It were perhaps likewise to be wished, that their government, renouncing its antiquated prejudices, and its ideas of false grandeur, would look forward without alarm to the prospect of the inevitable independence of the greatest part of its colonies; that, preparing itself for this separation, it might prevent its being attended with

the effusion of blood; that it would treat its colonies, not as adult children who groan beneath the yoke of a cruel mother, but as children voluntarily emancipated, who would long retain a warm affection for their parent, and would become her closest allies; that it were convinced that this pacific revolution gently guided by wisdom, would be facilitated by the conformity of manners, of language, of religion; that it would profit by the example of England, whose tyranny towards her colonies retarded this union, but which, within these few years, has seen circumstances restore that natural cordiality which must subsist between nations which were so long connected, and still retain so many points of contact; that it may learn from these same English, from the Dutch, and from the French, that it is neither the number nor the extent of colonies, but their organization and the excellence of the system adopted in respect to them, which constitute the wealth of the mother-country; that the French part alone of St. Domingo was in 1788 more profitable to France, than Cuba, Mexico, and Peru put together are to Spain.—Here let me pause.—

I am aware of the ancient prejudices consecrated in the archives of the council of the Indies, and transmitted from one administration to another, ever since the conquest of America. I

am sensible that such wishes are premature ; but woe be to Spain if they remain long unaccomplished !

Ye modern Spaniards, be at least persuaded to renounce the projects of aggrandizement which are ascribed to you ! Has not your government, have not ye yourselves numberless other means of promoting your prosperity, of employing your zeal, your wealth, your talents, and your courage ?

Your zeal, for the last thirty years in particular, has been directed to useful objects. It has created Patriotic Societies, whose dawn was so auspicious, and which have hitherto, with very few exceptions, given birth to nothing but unaccomplished plans and unrealized wishes. In order to produce much greater advantage, it only requires to be directed and encouraged. For though you live under a government nearly despotic your bosoms are warmed by the genuine love of country, and notwithstanding the efforts that are made to keep you in darkness, this sentiment begins to shine forth with increased lustre.

Your wealth is locked up in your coffers, or transferred to funds, whose managers take it at a low interest, and employ it in speculations by which they are the only gainers. Why do ye not expend it, not on religious foundations, already too numerous, and which seem rather designed to encourage idleness than to soothe distress, but

en establishments useful to your country, advantageous to yourselves, and calculated to diffuse abundance and life from one extremity of your country to the other ? In this respect, at least, imitate your haughty rivals, who ought never to have been your allies. Consider the miracles of this kind which public spirit has performed in England. Look at the numberless canals, planned and completed at a prodigious expence, not by kings or ministers, but by private individuals, who, for their own advantage, enliven vast districts. In some of your provinces you have already canals of irrigation, which may serve you for models. Increase their number. Your country, parched as it appears, possesses far more resources of this kind than a hasty traveller is aware of. It wants shade ; second the views of government by the general multiplication of your plantations. You will thus skreen your cattle, your fields, and yourselves from the intense heat of your climate. Invite and take into your pay artists capable of supplying your manufactures with machines calculated for saving time and manual labour. Without waiting for the commands of government, make cross-roads, pay more attention to your breeds of horses, and to the improvement of your agriculture. This luxury will be infinitely more advantageous than your gala dresses, and your numerous dependents and equipages.

*Your talents of every kind are sufficiently conspicuous. You excel in the art of printing. Your cloth-manufactures, especially those of Guadalajara and Segovia, approach very near to perfection. Within these twenty years, those of silk have improved, in an alarming degree, for your rivals. In your roads in Biscay, Navarre, the Sierra Morena, and in the vicinity of the metropolis; in the docks of Carthagena; in the dyke which you have opposed to the fury of the ocean which threatens Cadiz; in several of your modern bridges, in a great number of your ships of war, you possess master-pieces of ingenuity. In your capital, in your royal residences, in several of your large cities, civil architecture has produced edifices, remarkable at least for the judgment with which they were planned, and for the regularity of their proportions. You have several engravers of eminence, who only want encouragement, and a public capable of appreciating their merits. Some of your painters revive the honour of your school, too little known beyond your own frontiers, and which your government is at length about to hold up to the admiration of the rest of Europe, through the medium of the graver.**

* Eight or ten years ago, the court of Madrid conceived the design of causing the greatest part of the pictures which adorn the royal residences to be engraved; but either from the idea that Spanish artists alone were not adequate to the task, or

Other arts, less brilliant but more useful, are cultivated among you with success. You are improving the manufacture of iron, and have begun to refine copper. The productions of your gold and silversmiths are not destitute of elegance. Few European coins display such perfection as yours. Your government will soon have no occasion to relinquish to foreign genius the task of conceiving, and to foreign hands that of executing plans of amelioration. Talents have long enough been one of the branches of your imports; they have at length become an indigenous production. It should be the duty of your government to seek them out and to avail itself of their aid.

Finally, *your courage*, has without doubt abundant occasions for exercising itself in time of peace. It requires courage to attack the abuses which account for your languor and tend to prolong it. Courage is required to diminish the multitude of priests and monks, who disgrace you, and prey upon your vitals, who are not less pernicious to religion than to agriculture. It is required to effect the partition of those possessions the immense extent of which is the cause of the

from the desire to excite a national emulation, by raising up rivals to them in foreign countries, it divided among them and the engravers of France, Germany, &c. the master-pieces of its immense gallery. This work is proceeding, and some Persian artists are engaged upon it. The drawings of the pictures which they are to engrave, beginning with the Spanish school, are successively transmitted to them.

imperfect cultivation and depopulation of Andalusia, and of the two Castiles.

Courage is required to check the destructive career of the *majorats*, that institution of pride which runs counter to the sentiments of nature, inasmuch as it accumulates all the advantages of fortune on the first born and his progeny, and thus dooms a great number of possessions to useless inactivity.

Courage is likewise required to strip the *Alcaldes* of its ruinous privileges, and to restore to the proprietors the exclusive benefits of their fields and pastures.

But courage is above all required, to wean the people from their superstitious habits ; to overturn those altars on which they cannot sacrifice without trembling ; and to deliver them from a tribunal which they dread as much as they revere, and which is not even necessary to despotism, if the latter can combine prudence with energy.

It is the governors alone who have hitherto been deficient in these different kinds of courage, by which Spain would soon be regenerated. They exist in a great number of the governed. How many statesmen animated with that useful courage which accomplishes important enterprises, has not the eighteenth century alone produced !

Look at an *Alberoni* awaking the Spanish nation, in a violent and injudicious manner, it is true,

but which nevertheless roused it for a few years from its stupor.

A *Macanaz* venturing to attack the abuses of that inquisition, of which he afterwards undertook the vindication.

A *Campillo*, defying the clamors of the farmers-general, those locusts of the exchequer, and replacing in the hands of government the administration of all the branches of the revenue of the crown.

A *La Ensenada*, conceiving many bold and useful projects, seeking and finding able assistants.

A *Galvez*, shaking off the ancient prejudices which confined the trade with Spanish America to a single port.

An *Olavidè* attacking with a vigorous arm the most sacred abuses ; creating, organizing, enlivening an immense colony ; covering forests and deserts with flourishing towns.

A *Carrasco* defying the hatred of the great proprietors of lands, in order to strip them of their illegitimate acquisitions.

A *Count d'Aranda* rallying for some years around the throne philosophical principles, whose application, tempered by prudence and modified by local circumstances, would have promoted the prosperity of the subject, without diminishing the authority of the sovereign.

A *Cabarrus*, attempting, in despite of etiquette and envy, various excellent innovations which make the Spanish nation acquainted with resources, the existence of which it scarcely suspected.

A *Roda*, a *Campomans*, a *Florida Blanca*,* endeavouring, not without success, to circumscribe the spiritual authority within proper limits, and knowing how to make a distinction between respect for religion and stupid veneration for its ministers.

These and many other examples demonstrate, that, especially in the last century, no sooner was the government willing to encourage difficult undertakings, than it found intrepid agents ready to second its views. Let it then but manifest courage itself, and the nation will not remain behind-hand.

All despotic governments are at least attended with this advantage, that a single act of their will, executed with decision, and followed up with perseverance, is capable of producing wonders, even among nations without information,

* Notwithstanding some errors, the Count de Florida Blanca certainly deserves a distinguished place among the enlightened and courageous men who have conceived, and in a great measure executed, plans of utility to their country. He obtained without intrigue, he retained without meanness, and for the space of twelve years, he in many respects, justified the confidence of one of the best sovereigns that Spain can boast of.

and almost destitute of public spirit. Of what then is not Spain susceptible, with a nation fertile in genius, abounding in energetic characters, a nation which, if restored to its native vigor, would only have occasion to be directed and curbed !

What a glorious task has fate allotted to you, O youthful minister,* whom I had an opportu-

* I know not but what I may have been found fault with for this advice, rather bold perhaps, which, nine years since, I ventured to give for the first time to the Prince of the Peace. This fault, if it be one, is not however without an excuse. More than one writer of talents, far superior indeed, to mine, have like me, taken the liberty to express, unasked and with impunity, similar wishes even in respect to sovereigns. They have been looked upon not so much in the light of improper lessons, as of indirect tributes of homage addressed to none but those who are thought worthy of hearing the truth, as tributes whose motive cannot appear suspicious, which can neither degrade him who gives, nor wound the feelings of the person who receives them. Had I consulted only my private sentiments, I might to be sure, like any other writer, and upon just grounds, have composed a paëgyric on the Prince of the Peace. To this end nothing more would have been necessary than to have called to mind the relations which subsisted between me and him, when he was still Duke of Alcudia ; the effusions of his confidence in the most critical circumstances ; the soundness of his understanding, which I had opportunities of appreciating ; the goodness of his heart, of which, had I been willing to accept them, I might have received proofs, when, expressing my anxiety respecting the fate which might await me in France, at the most dangerous period of our revolution (1793) he offered me an asylum in Spain. The recollection of these cir-

nity of closely observing at the brilliant commencement of your career! The path is open for you. The favor of the sovereign removes every obstacle that might impede your course. It is capable of conducting you to glory much more durable than itself, and more worthy of your ambition. You are in an age favourable to the conception of sublime plans, and to the hope of carrying them into execution. You may, if you please, refute the slanderers of your nation, you may exalt it again to the rank it once held in Europe, and secure yourself a distinguished place in history.

You already occupy some of its pages, which you cannot have a wish to erase. You conducted a war much less calamitous for your country than it might have been, and concluded a peace the sacrifices of which bear no proportion to the previous disasters. Without refusing to talents the part which they may justly claim in a catastrophe which astonished Europe, we should be tempted to believe, that the fortunate planet under which you were born, has extended its influence to your ministerial operations. The name which you assumed subsequent to those great and important events, seemed to contain an epitome of the duties which you had resolved to prescribe for yourself. But, if I could forget that I am a

circumstances is indelibly impressed on my mind. Let me here be permitted to introduce, rather late perhaps, the sincere and
 testimony of my gratitude.

Frenchman, I should say, that already you have deviated, perhaps, from those obligations, by involving your country in a new quarrel, the least pernicious consequence of which will be the retardation of the complete revival of its prosperity,—of that prosperity whose every source is in your hands, and which does not want your good wishes, if we are to judge by many facts, and a multitude of testimonies. We know that military and political affairs are not the sole objects that engross your attention; that you are desirous of encouraging the arts and manufactures; that so far from fearing talents, you take delight in employing those which modesty or want of encouragement had consigned to obscurity, that you send abroad intelligent men to learn in foreign countries those lessons in taste, of which your establishments either for luxury or pleasure still stand in need, and to study on the spot those models which national pride should not be ashamed to imitate.

We have more recently been informed, that, seconded by the eminent persons who enjoy your confidence, you have ventured to oppose a tribunal, once formidable even to sovereigns, and that, in this conflict, victory declared in favour of the temporal power.

These measures of wisdom, these acts of vigour, are auspicious omens. You appear sensible, that it would be vain to attempt to regenerate a

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nation, if it be left under the yoke of fanaticism. Yours has for some time been eager after information; and this tendency, it would now be dangerous to counteract. The waters, whose course you attempt to stop with a dyke, overflow or break it down with violence. Their tranquil current would have fertilized and enlivened the country through which they passed. Their impetuous eruption lays it waste. So knowledge, if it has still to contend with the institutions which are unfavourable to its progress, will disturb the tranquillity of your country, and perhaps overturn the throne. It is by giving it a welcome reception, that authority will preserve itself from the fatal consequences with which the struggle might probably be attended. It may be aptly compared with those revolutionary Frenchmen whom sovereigns thought fit to persecute, in order to check the propagation of their alarming doctrines. Those French, who, previous to the rupture, were watched with jealous severity, were, at that time, much more formidable on account of their secret plots, than they have been since peace renewed the bonds of amity between the two governments. Such too will be the case in regard to knowledge. Would you render it dangerous, refuse it admittance, treat it as an enemy! Do you wish it to be productive of benefit to the people, and at the

same time innocent in respect to kings, treat it as an ally.

These truths are not strangers to all courts. Yours is worthy of hearing them. To persuade their adoption is a task befitting your conciliating disposition, and the soundness of your understanding. It would, perhaps, be the surest way of preserving your country from the progress of that revolutionary spirit with which it is said to be threatened. Give Europe, whose eyes are fixed upon you, occasion to say :

By the mildness of his administration he rendered despotism supportable. He does not turn a deaf ear to the counsels of that salutary philosophy, which the excesses of some of its followers have not been able to bring into discredit. He is desirous that the priests should be the supports of the throne, but will not suffer them to be its rivals. He allows them to be the guardians of orthodoxy, but prevents them from being the instruments of persecution.

Constant and faithful to the connections which nature and experience direct his nation to cultivate, he thinks that it ought to have eternal allies, but only momentary enemies. War he deems a calamity that is sometimes inevitable ; but he does not employ it as a necessary material in the edifice of his glory. He thinks that in the shade of peace alone can thrive the arts which he loves, manufactures which he encourages, and

in particular agriculture, that has so long needed those gradual and judicious reforms which are absolutely impracticable amidst the bustle of war.

Your flatterers will, perhaps, tell you, that it is your picture which I have delineated. Your friends will say, that I have only drawn your horoscope; accompanied indeed with the most flattering appearances, but which it is necessary to fulfil, in order to deserve the gratitude of your country, and the praises of posterity.

SUPPLEMENT.

SINCE the preceding pages were written, the Prince of the Peace has acquired a still higher degree of consideration, more extensive influence, and, consequently, more numerous means of realizing the hopes that the author then fondly conceived of him. It would be base adulation to affirm, that he has accomplished them all ; but it would be unjust to say, that he has disappointed them, and to deny that of late years, Spain has been indebted to him for various beneficial institutions ; that he has proved himself equal to the important posts which he fills ; and that proofs, both of a good heart and a sound understanding are discoverable in the use he has made of the unlimited influence which he possesses.

In addition to the observations which I made in 1803, I ought, in order to complete my retrospect, and to bring it down to the present year, to take a rapid survey of the events worthy of notice that have occurred between these two periods.

If, during this interval, a third war has disturbed the repose which Spain so much needed to ac-

comply with the work of her regeneration, it was not the result of any false measure, or occasioned by any ambitious view. A provocation rarely to be paralleled in history, has obliged Spain again to take up arms. So sudden a rupture, instead of overwhelming her with dismay, as it might have done under a weak administration, has increased her energies to a degree of which her detractors would have thought her incapable. We have seen with what astonishing activity she equipped three squadrons. She extorted admiration from her very enemies. The engagement which soon succeeded these efforts, cost her, it is true, some ships, and one of her best admirals; but the honor of the monarch remained inviolate, and the valour of her seamen has acquired new claims to the public esteem.

Amidst these unforeseen embarrassments, notwithstanding the interruption of those periodical tributes which arrive from India to replenish the public exchequer, the court of Madrid continues to fulfil its engagements; and adhering to her ancient principles of integrity, Spain is still one of those powers with whom governments and individuals may treat with the greatest security.

Neither the other branches of the internal administration suffered by this fatal diversion of the public treasure. Bold plans, and useful enterprises are conceived and executed.

The government has suppressed those barbar-

ous spectacles to which the Spanish nation was attached with a kind of phrenzy, notwithstanding the remonstrances of reason and the injury which agriculture sustained from them.

Proofs of wisdom and courage have been exhibited in another way. The Spanish government has risen superior to those religious scruples which served to sanction the enormous multiplication of ecclesiastical possessions. A portion of them has been sold, and been restored to general circulation.

High dignities, even those of the church, no longer screen their possessors from the severity of justice, and hypocrisy is unmasked and punished even in the episcopal chair.

No means are neglected for diffusing that information, at which neither the throne nor the altar can possibly take alarm; for relieving Spain from the calamities which befall her; and for making foreigners acquainted with the treasures which she contains.

The works which appear in other countries on the arts and sciences, of real utility, are made known by extracts, translations, or comments

The study of surgery is encouraged.

The limits of botany are extended either by discoveries which natives of Spain are daily making in her immense possessions, or by the researches which she permits travellers of other countries to institute.

Foreign physicians of eminence are invited to consult with those of Spain, respecting the means of eradicating the yellow fever, and preventing its return.

The inestimable discovery of the cow-pox is adopted with enthusiasm, and superstition does not impede its propagation.

The pencil and the graver are employed in supplying Europe with faithful copies of those monuments of sculpture and architecture of different ages, and different nations—of the Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Goths, Spaniards, scattered in a hundred places over the surface of Spain, with many of which the Spaniards themselves were wholly unacquainted; and national jealousy takes no umbrage at the delegation of this task to foreign artists.

It is at the most arduous junctures that all these exertions are making. Shall it still be said, that Spain is several centuries behind the other countries of Europe? Shall it still be affirmed, that her government is sunk into an incurable lethargy?

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

